VALERIUS FLACCUS
ARGONAUTICA, BOOK V
A COMMENTARY

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H.J.W. WIJSMAN

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ARGONAUTICA, BOOK V
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Argonaut. Liber. V.

C. VALERII FLACCI SETINI BALBI
ARGONAVTICON
LIBER QVINTVS.

A Ltera lux haud læta vi-
ris emerſit olympo,
Argolic9 morbis: fatiſ
q; rapacibus Idmon
Labitur extremi ſibi tũ
non inſcius æui.

The opening of Book 5 in the edition of 1519 (Aegidius Maserius, Paris), summarizing the contents; by courtesy of University Library, State University Leiden.

VALERIUS FLACCUS ARGONAUTICA, BOOK V

A COMMENTARY

BY

H.J.W. WIJSMAN

E.J. BRILL
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CONTENTS

Preface ix

Differences in Text xi

Book V: Introduction 1

Commentary 11

Bibliography 305

Index of Passages 311

Index of Subjects and Themes 319

Index of Latin Words 321

PREFACE

After a few years of hard work I offer to the press my commentary upon a peculiar part of the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus.

My primary aim was to try and understand his bold, sometimes dark, way of expression that may have offered considerable problems even to his contemporaries. I have been keen to find, where possible, similar expressions elsewhere, in particular in poetry. From there on the texture of derivation and emulation and conflation of various examples builds up to composition of a story artfully interlaced with comparisons and continuous allusion, with occasionally a glimpse of the author's originality.

I consider this dissertation a co-production with Professor H. Pinkster and Dr J.J.L. Smolenaars. I have greatly profited from their expert philological advices with an accent on, respectively, linguistics and literature. From the latter I learned the concept of texts made up of building blocks of previous texts, the new erudition; I am grateful for their constant flow of advice. Needless to say that remaining defects are mine. I thank Dr Chr. Lowe for his expert way of correcting and vetting the English; again, here and there I have ventured to be stubborn. I profited of a few astute observations of Professor A.J. Kleywegt. On nearly every page my debt to P. Langen's commentary (1896) shimmers through.

The text, found interspersed in the commentary, is my own. The differences with the latest edition of the *Argonautica* are few and small.

Having been trained in the sciences, I hope some interest is betrayed in excursions into botany, zoology, astronomy. Since I feel that commentaries are the bread and butter of philology I am glad with the opportunity to produce this book. Whatever it represents in terms of advancement has been produced on the shoulders of giants working on similar subjects before.

Amsterdam, June 1995

DIFFERENCES IN TEXT

My text is based upon the summary of data in Giarratano 1904, inspection of the other editions listed in the bibliography, as well as later additions, notably those of Courtney 1970 and Ehlers 1980. Where possible, the codex **C** is given full weight. Textual differences from the latest complete text of the *Argonautica* (W.-W. Ehlers, Teubner Stuttgart 1980):

	my preference	Ehlers
74	*vulgatam* Wijsman	*vulgatum* **V+L**
75	*Callirhoen* **C** (*-rhoan* **V+L**)	*Callichoron* ed. 1498
	hic **V+L**	*his* Pius
106	*Erythine* Pius	*Erythia* **V, L, C**
134	*quam vexerit amnis in aequor* **C**	*quam sanguine vexerit amnis* **V+L**
139	*insignis* **C**	*in signis* Mas., (Carrio I+II)
156	*novantem* Eyssenhardt	*morantem* **V+L**, (Carrio)
182	*frena* Köstlin	*plena* **V, L, C**
196	*dura haec referentia* Wijsman	†*durae properanti*† (**V+L**)
207	*tuenti* Sandström	*fluentis* **V+L**, (Carrio)
215	*casus qui* **V+L**, Carrio	*casusque ut* Heinsius
239	*quaecumque* **C**	*quemcumque* **L**
269	*ipsum quin* Balbus	*ipsumque ut* Sudhaus
287	*manet ingens* **C**	*<iamiam> manet* ed. 1474
318	*spargit* **V+L**	*sparget* ed. 1498
321	*aure* Samuelsson	*vero* **V+L**, (Carrio)
409	*caelifer* Heinsius	*ferreus* **V+L**, (Carrio)
436	after 437 Langen	**V+L**, (Carrio)
437	*ipse* **C**	*ipsa* **V+L**
484	†*illa cremantia divos*†	†*cremantia*†
492	*loco* Heinsius	*locus* **V+L**, (Carrio)
515	*dextram* **C**	*dona* **V+L**
520	*fremit* **V+L**, (Carrio)	*premit* Heinsius
529	*atque* Langen	*aut* **V+L**, (Carrio)
542	*deerat* (spelling only) with Carrio	*derat*
550	*menti* Heinsius	*mentem* **V+L**, (Carrio)
565	*chorus*	†*chorus*†
566	*aut surgens* Castiglioni	*adsurgens* **V+L**, (Carrio)
570	*vultu* (Pius, cod. Reg.)	*cultu* **V+L**, (Carrio)
571	*iustum* Wijsman	*iuxta* **V+L**, (Carrio)

596	*hinc* Shackleton Bailey	*hic* **V+L**, (Carrio)
628	*num* **V+L+C**	*non* ed. 1498
644	*ut . . . certent* Courtney	*et . . . certant* **V+L**, (Carrio)
	magna **V+L**	*magne* ed. 1474, Carrio
670	*fassaque quae nequeat sit* Shackleton Bailey (*fassaque nequeat sic* **C**)	*fas (aliquae) nequeat (sic)* **V+L** *aliquid* Pius *sit* Leo

BOOK V: INTRODUCTION

COMPOSITION & CONTENTS

The Author

The data setting limits to the period of the life and literary activity of Valerius Flaccus under the Emperors Vespasian and Titus are scant in number: Quint. 10.1.90 where he had died *nuper*, the destruction of Jerusalem (VF 1.13), the eruption of Vesuvius (4.507ff.), and last, important to show his high social rank, his membership of the *quindecimviri* (based on VF 1.5ff., 8.239ff.). The chronology of the work has recently been reviewed in the light of the above by Ehlers 1985; I agree with his conclusion that the *Argonautica* is a product of the seventies of the first century A.D. Book Five does not provide further clues allowing shedding light on these data.

The Text

The main basis for the text is **V**, the Vaticanus, a ninth-century Ms. Ehlers has convincingly proved that most of the younger medieval Mss. derive from **L**, the Laurentianus (possibly dating back to the sixth century), now only known in the form of Niccoli's autograph collation. (The reconstituted **S** (from St. Gall) does not contain book 5.) In 1980 Ehlers published a well-balanced text in the Teubner edition.

For a long time the lost Ms. **C**, basis for Carrio's editions (1565, 1566), was of doubtful antiquity, position, and value. Dolbeau, Coulson, Taylor, had already rehabilitated Carrio's manuscript, even before Ehlers's report in 1991 of the discovery of the last page of **C** (W.-W. Ehlers, Neuere Arbeiten zur Datierung und Überlieferung der Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus, *in* Ratis omnia vincet, ed. M. Korn, H.J. Tschiedel, *Spudasmata* 48 (1991) 17–34).

The General Theme

With regard to the interpretation of the *Argonautica* as a whole Burck (1979) 231ff. has argued that, in so far as more than mere literary diversion is involved, the Argo as the first ship spreads culture over the (barbaric) world, now that according to Jupiter's designs Greece is to take over the dominance that the East had previously – only to yield it eventually to the Romans (1.537–560).

Recently Taylor (1994) has presented an hypothesis which interprets the whole *Argonautica* as a symbolic work describing the dynastic succession by the Flavians after Nero's demise. According to her, Hercules is the symbol for Augustus, the old order; Jason for Vespasian. Pelias and Aeetes together represent Nero, and, to a lesser degree, Medea stands for the Jewish princess Berenice, who had an affair with Vespasian's son Titus. Further evidence has been promised. In as much as an hypothesis should be judged not on the basis of where it fits, but of where it has been systematically tested and possibly does *not* fit, I feel it is too early to consider the attractive theory as final. Anyhow one would expect passages concerning Jason-Vespasian to refer to lines in the *Aeneid* comparing – implicitly – Aeneas to Augustus. In book 5 I have not found evidence of this type.

Internal Coherence of Book 5

With regard to book 5 of the *Argonautica* there is the problem of why the author combined such variety of contents into one book. After Mehmel (1934) had characterized VF's way of composing as haphazardly, Lüthje (1971) has tried to rehabilitate the poem and to retrieve arguments for systematic composition. In the process several books, notably the first four, have been assigned a 'theme'. For book 5 this has been done by Shey (1968:150): 'The theme of book 5 is confusion and discord, both in the human community and in the divine community'.

However, there is a sharp dichotomy in the book at line 216, on which Lüthje has commented, following Schetter (1959), and supported by Adamietz (1976). On the one hand it has been argued that in the *Argonautica* several scenes spill over from one book into the next on the analogy of Ovid's procedure in the *Metamorphoses*. On the other hand the model for such a main division (between the 'Herculean'

Journey and the 'Jasonic' Fight for the Fleece) not *between* books but *in* a book can also be found in the *Aeneis*, where Aeneas does not start his Latian adventures (the '*Iliad*' part) until line 36 of book 7. Similarly in the present book the quest for Colchis ends at line 216; from there on Colchian adventures and the events involving Medea fill the second part of the work.

Nevertheless I feel that, apart from the Ovidian blurring of sharp demarcations between the books, the whole of book 5 has in fact an individuality that sets it apart, in the same way that all other books have. I prefer to emphasize what the voyage from Lycus to Aeetes has in common with the events in Colchis, the fact that we are here beyond the known οἰκουμένη, and have entered a fantasy world. Shey 138 has discussed the passing into an 'Other World' ("Jenseits") beyond the Clashing Rocks, though he did not exploit the consequences of this view. I suggest that when book 5 begins the rocks can be considered fixed and stabilized, the Pontus is open, and the new frontier is right where we start. In line 73 two senses can be read; *Acherusidos oras praeterit* may simply refer to the headland Acherusis (with its river Acheron) near the Greek colony Herakleia, but could also suggest that they passed the river Acheron, being equivalent to 'they passed the Styx' (cf. ARh 2.353f.). The first 72 lines refer to death threatening all Argonauts, in the form of an epidemic. During that time the Argo is moored in the Acheron (as we can in no way deduce from VF, but are supposed to know on the basis of ARh 2.750f., 901). From now on (cf. Shelton 542) they will no longer meet hospitable Greeks like Cyzicus, Phineus, Lycus, but enter the queer world of Amazons and Tibarenes, and actually witness an Herculean labour fit for a god. Beyond the tomb of Phrixus they meet Medea, in the present book a shy maiden, yet knowing the full lore of a witch; books 5 and 7 form a natural unit, separated, however, by the gladiatorial scenes of the struggle with Perses. The first 133 lines of book 8, then, still form the spill-over of the Colchian world; subsequently the Argonauts bring the supernatural element in the form of Medea back to the world of reality.

Since the return trip in the Greek so-called *Argonautica Orphica* (5th century) passes the British Isles (on which see 295 n.), I suppose that Valerius either included the same element as a tribute to Vespasian if he ever completed the work (suggesting the motif to the Orphic poet), or intended to work out the theme of an ocean trip from the same hypothetical source (now lost) from which the Orphic poet,

unoriginal as he seems to be, culled his material. If it is right that, as Shelton (540) emphasized, 'The Argonautic voyage is seen not as an isolated heroic exploit, but as a pivotal event in Jupiter's divine plan for the world. The novel and unique nature of the undertaking is emphasised', the whole second part of the work is the culmination of the quest, not only the recovery of the fleece.

Structural elements serving to unify the two parts of the book are the ring composition line 1/ line 691 (see below) and the *defleta nomina, defleti duces* (indicating the same persons) of lines 60f., 575, respectively.

A Note on Structure

It has been noted (Lewis 1987) that the introduction in *Aen.7* before the '*Iliad*' part begins comprises 36 lines (6 × 6), while in *Arg.5* the 'introduction' before the second part begins comprises 216 lines (6 × 6 × 6, or $1^3 \times 2^3 \times 3^3$). On correspondences between the first part of *Aen.7* and *Arg.5* cf. 7 n. *humum sedemque.*

It is dangerous to apply numerology to a text depending on a few reconstructed, long lost manuscripts, while in addition the surviving **V** has its defects; Courtney lists several transpositions (XXXIII) and omissions (XXXVII) of lines. Yet, seeing that the part 'at Lycus's court' is 72 lines long, one third of the introduction, it is tempting to investigate its subdivision. If the number 72 is really meaningful, we would expect something relevant just half-way; this would be based on the many examples in Vergil where the point of a passage is found right in the middle.[1] An example in VF has been described.[2]

[1] Wlosok (1967): "Die Kennzeichnung des Hauptgedankens durch die Stellung in der Mitte eines wohlkomponierten Formganzes, wie . . ., gehört zu den anerkanntene Vergilischen Bauprinzipien". Examples: *Ecl.* 1.42 *iuvenem,* whereas the whole is 83 lines long (Schmidt 1977); Halter 1963 on *Aen.* 12.791–842, 52 lines with in 816/17 the oath on the Styx; *Aen.* 6.777–807, 30 lines with in 792: *Augustus Caesar.* (Personally I should prefer to have Anchises speaking from 724–853, that is, for 130 lines with in 789: *hic Caesar.*) – In addition: *Aen.* 8.626–729 (the shield), 104 lines with in 678 *Augustus.* In the Orpheus story, *G.* 4.453–527 (75 lines), we find in 490 *restitit!* In *Aen.1* (756 lines) in 1.378 *sum pius Aeneas.* In the *Georgics* on sexual love as a passion in common with animals (*G.* 3.209–283), Vergil has the central section 242–249 with the gnomic formulae (with *amor omnibus idem* at 244) placed between 33 and 34 lines from the ends. See also 348 n. on the central line of Book 5.

[2] Ehlers (1971) found 1.11 *sancte pater* (= Vespasian) in the middle of 1.1–21. However, Kleywegt 1986a:319, who supports transposition of the verse to line 13, finds *sancte pater* in the middle of the section 1.5–1.21! Compare also 348 n.

Vergil uses elaborate numerical patterns according to Thomas (1988) 12: 'the opening pattern of *Georgics 2* (8 + 26 + 12 + 26 + 10 + 26 + 26) seems to show a pattern beyond the bonds of coincidence'. (Mynors distinguishes the same sections; cf. also Skutsch (1969).)

At the centre of the first 72 lines, Jason's complaint starts at line 37, continuing till 59. The subdivision would be

1–12	Idmon's death	12 vv
13–36	Tiphys's death	24 vv
37–59	Jason's complaint	23 vv
60–62	Tiphys's funeral	3 vv
63–72	A new helmsman takes off	10 vv

which can be grouped as 12–24–23–13. I think that this comes very close to 12–24–24–12, which may have been the author's scheme for filling the first third of the 216 lines.

Some support for a numerical scheme underlying the composition of book V comes from the traces of symmetry in the rest of the book:

73–139	67 vv		= 73 – 100(28) + 101 – 112(12) + 113 – 139(27)
140–146	7 vv		
147–216	70 vv		= 147 – 153(7) + 154 – 176(23) + 177 – 193(17) + 194 – 216(23)
217–224½	7½ vv		(invocation)
224½–258	34½ vv		
259–277	19 vv	} 72½	
278–296	19 vv	} 72½ } 70	
297–328	32 vv	} 70	
329–362	34 vv	} 70	
363–398	36 vv	} 70	
399–410½	12½ vv		
410–454	44½ vv		
455–518	64 vv		(486/7 *dat labores varios*)
519–617	99		= 519 – 566(48) + 567 – 617(51)
618–689	**72** vv		
690–695	6 vv		

Aberrations from periodic regularities (more about which below) could be explained by:

1. the poet trying to avoid a mathematically exact pattern, preferring a natural flow.
2. 'spontaneous' composition as advocated by Mehmel, e.g., having once finished on 70 instead of 72, then for the moment continuing with the number 70 as a new standard.

3. abandoning schemes altogether, as appears predominantly the case in other books where I failed to find the same support for similar numerical regularity.
4. transpositions and losses in the manuscript.
5. the possibility that VF died prematurely, and could not bring the text to perfection (a possibility advocated by Poortvliet 1991 but considered unlikely by Ehlers; the data from Book 5 do not lend support; cf. 195, 225 nn.)

Also in the general composition the principle situating something striking in the middle appears to apply. The central position of the whole book is occupied by the Proserpina comparison, on which cf. 348 n.

In view of the importance of the Golden Section in Vergil (Duckworth[3]), it is interesting to observe the fact that the description of Phaethon's fate divides book 5 into a *maior* and a *minor*; cf. 429/432 n.

Another indication of careful composition is the occurrence of ring composition: line 1 corresponds to line 691 near the end; in the first section of 216 lines line 9 corresponds to 214.

Style

VF is a typical contemporary of Lucan and Statius, and pathos is a key concept (cf. Burck, 1971); he revels in extremes (compare 364 n.). Nevertheless he can, while incorporating words, concepts, stories of predecessors, claim originality; he has invented authentic similes, and in addition his own variations with regard to similes used in the *Aeneid*. VF is involved in active emulation. His style of writing has been extensively discussed by Stadler 8ff. While he seems in general more conventional than Statius, he is also more balanced, and overall I agree with Heinsius (as quoted by Thilo VIII): VF was a favourite with him, after Vergil, shining in his restraint, originality, rhetoric. – There is an air of maturity in VF's style.

[3] G.E. Duckworth, XV. Mathematical symmetry in Vergil's Aeneid, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 91 (1960) 184–220; id., *Structural patterns and proportions in Vergil's Aeneid*, Ann Arbor, 1962.

Comparisons

According to Fitch's special study VF – like Statius – is in general rich in comparisons. Fitch gives the number as 114 (Bussenius as 111, Summers as 117); but these comparisons are (in contrast to the situation in Statius and Vergil) relatively short, seldom surpassing four lines. In book 5, however, comparisons are scarce. Summers 59 well remarks that our author is fond of illustrating emotions (*animi motus*) by this means; he has 19 examples against one solitary one in the *Aeneid* (compare 1, 5, 9, below).

In book 5 the number of comparisons is relatively small. They can be labelled as:

1. children	22	6. rainstorm	304
2. bull	67	7. Proserpina	345
3. lightning	92	8. Sirius	369
4. earthquake	163	9. the Sun god	408
5. harbour home	191	10. wave	521
		11. stars	565

From Homer are derived 22, 304 and 369 (and the gist of 521), from Vergil 67, 521. By contrast, the ones starting in the following lines seem original: 92, 163, 191, 345, 408, 565.

Of these original ones the entry of the Phasis 191, the noise of an earthquake 163, the spendour of lightning 92 and the light as if of the real sun 408, are not extensive. But the comparison with Proserpina (in a place of honour occupying the central lines of the whole book) and with the numerous shining stars (565) are impressive.

Sources

Story and plot have been derived from ARh. VF allows himself some minor alterations in the itinerary, and some considerable innovations in the story. The sons of Phrixus play no rôle, Medea meets Jason spontaneously, not after a long preparation at a pre-arranged point. The Argonauts have to fight against Perses first.

In a few cases the words in the text show signs of literally following ARh, which results in translation.

From the index it is clear that the *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as Lucan, have been a major source of creative imitation,

Vergil overwhelmingly so. On the different functions of referring to literary models see Thomas 1986, and Smolenaars XVIff., as well as Smolenaars 1991.

The way in which Vergil has served as the leading light for VF is treated by Schenkl, Baehrens, Stroh, Nordera, Hudson-Williams, Venini.[4] In certain cases VF's debt to Vergil is purely formal, consisting of the borrowing of phrases without reference to their context.

Of the *Aeneid* Books 1, 7, 8, are the most frequently quoted, but hardly significantly more than 6 and 11. Less so the *Iliad*, *Heroides*, Seneca *Medea*. The Medea story in Ovid *Met.* is not quoted, Ovid's tragedy possibly more than we know of. On possible knowledge (and use) of the Scholia of ARh cf. 155 n. (Bessone), of Horace 287 n., of Propertius 643 n. Other themes lending themselves to allusion and emulation are the meeting with the beloved-to-be (Homer), Prometheus (Aeschylus), travelling along a coast with landmarks (*Aen.3*), the confrontation with the sovereign (*Aen.1*), the Amazons (*Aen.1, 5, 11*), the arrival in Latium (*Aen.7*), Hercules (*Aen.8*), divine debates (*Aen.1*, *Aen.10*).

In VF the principle of 'multiple imitation' (Smolenaars XXVIff.) is not so clear as in Statius, although in fact often many models have been tapped to create a new scene. VF appears deliberately and enthusiastically to have been active in subtly changing the words of his models (cf. 428 *versus* Verg. *G.* 4.479f.). The sense of *clamore morantur* (28) is in *Aen.* 5.207 'loudly yelling they row the ship backwards'; in VF 'they cry for delay of Idmon's funeral'. – Sometimes he follows the model too closely; cf. 275, 352, 383.

With regard to references to other books of the *Argonautica*, apart from the flanking books 4 and 6, book 1 is frequently quoted; this had been noted by Frank, who gave a list of the correspondences between books 1 and 5, 2 and 6, 3 and 7 (see nn. *ad* 65, 75, 177–216, 194, 453).

Inspirational Force, *Nachleben*

Silius and Statius probably knew the author personally, and their quoting and emulation was copious (Schenkl, Summers, Steele,

[4] R. Nordera, *I virgilianismi in Valerio Flacco*, 1–92, Bologna 1969; A. Hudson-Williams, 'Some Vergilian echoes in Valerius Flaccus', *Mnemosyne* 26 (1973) 23–28; P. Venini, 'Sull' imitazione virgiliana in Valerio Flacco', *Athenaeum* 67 (1989) 273–275.

Smolenaars appendix). There is an isolated instance in Mart. (Summers 8–14, Schenkl). I wish to add Juv. 1.18 (see note *ad* 641).

For possible influence on the *Ciris* cf. 1 n., on the Orphic poet 244 n.

For quotations from VF after the 1st and 2nd cent. AD cf. Manitius, Schenkl, Summers.

Unfortunately for mankind, in the course of Western culture from then on Valerius Flaccus has been for the most part underrated.

Although Heinsius spoke of his appreciation (above), the 19th century was hostile to VF's 'artificial' style, classifying him with Silius as a second rate poet; Mehmel (1934) lent support to this attitude. Over the last 40 years his star has risen again; an early instance of rehabilitation can be found in Duff (1927) 451. Although he still first reproves VF for a certain failure to give solace to humanity (but has not Vergil been incorporated into Christianity for the very reason that his human compassion was *not* the typical attitude of a Roman poet?), Duff continues: 'there is descriptive power, varied incident, vivid narrative, and the perennial attraction of the way of a man with a maid', with which I tend to concur.

COMMENTARY

1–216: The last part of the quest for Colchis

After the relative triumph over the Harpies, as well as over the Clashing Rocks and over Amycus, the Argonauts have arrived at the court of Lycus, more or less the last familiar, Greek, settlement. Here the Argonauts meet with severe ordeals: two prominent comrades die. Nevertheless they take sea and find or pass several peculiar peoples and sites. Finally they arrive in Colchis around sunset.

Subdivisions are as follows:

A. 1–72: loss of comrades in Lycus's realm
B. 73–176: along the coasts of Asia
C. 177–216: arrival in Colchis

A. *1–72: loss of comrades in Lycus's realm*

Idmon and Tiphys die. After due honours to the deceased, a new helmsman is chosen and the Argonauts continue the quest. The scenes are:

a.1. 1–12: death of Idmon
a.2. 12–62: death of Tiphys
a.3. 63–72: selecting a new helmsman

a.1 *1–12. Death of Idmon*

Book 4 ended at the court of Lycus, king of the Mariandyni, where a banquet had been offered to the Argonauts in remembrance of their overthrow of Amycus. The very next day brings sorrow: the death of Idmon, whose body is prepared for the pyre. For the contents cf. A.Rh. 2.815–850 as well as Adamietz 63f., Lüthje 185/186. The funeral scene is told in a very restrained manner, masking in this way the particular models (see further 9 n.).

*

1. altera lux haud laeta viris emersit Olympo:
2. Argolicus morbis fatisque rapacibus Idmon
3. labitur extremi sibi tum non inscius aevi.

1 altera lux (*lux* for 'day'): *altera* has the connotation 'the next' (TLL 1.1736.50). The combination of *alter* with *dies* is frequent in

prose; with *lux* found only in Liv. 5.39.6 *ad lucem alteram*, Pers. 5.67, Sil. 11.529. VF's particular wording may be influenced by Ov. *Met.* 3.149f. *altera lucem/ cum ... Aurora reducet.* A combination of *lux* with *postera* is found in Hor. *S.* 1.5.39 *postera lux oritur.*

haud laeta viris *haud* had an archaic flavour, in accordance with its survival in epic poetry (cf. Axelson 91, Tränkle 45). The litotes *haud laeta* occurs already in *Aen.* 11.238 *haud laeta fronte Latinus*; also VF 1.30. I prefer to consider *haud laeta* as a Praedicativum, 'a new day came, *not as a day of joy* for the crew'. With *lux, laetus* could also have been 'bright' with respect to the atmosphere (TLL 7.2.889.15; for some examples cf. Cic. *Arat.* 98 *laeti vestigia solis*, ibid. 458 *laeto cum lumine*, or Germ. fr. 4.1 *Iuppiter est illo (Saturno) laetus magis*. At first glance the combination of *lux* and *haud laeta* with the nuance 'not bright' would appear to be an oxymoron, and the present passage is possibly the model for Sil. 12.665 *laeta serenati facies aperitur Olympi*. See further 70 n.

There is a balance between the whole *haud laeta* scene 1–62 on the coast and the departure from there, which is again *laetus* (69). On *laeta lux* cf. Catul. 64.325 *accipe quod laeta tibi pandunt luce sorores*, and *Ciris* 349f. *postera lux ubi laeta diem mortalibus almum/ ... quatiebat.* (In view of the evidence (Lyne 250) of a few correspondences between the *Ciris* and VF it is interesting to add the present line.) For *viris* as a dative of advantage cf. VF 1.30 *haud laeta tyranno*, or Luc. 8.89 *infelix coniunx et nulli laeta marito.*

emersit Olympo 'a new day came upwards (sc. from the sea) into the sky'.[1] *emergere* according to TLL 5.2.474.57 can stand for 'to rise', as already in *Nat. Deor.* 3.113 *emergit Scorpios* (cf. Cic. *Arat.* 77).

The verse is similar in scansion as well as in subject and ending – though word boundaries are different – to VF 5.412 *(rapit) altus equos curvoque diem subtexit Olympo (Sol)*, and to Stat. *Theb.* 5.421f. *(quierunt)/ flamina, confusoque dies respexit Olympo*, both ending with a compound verb followed by *Olympo* and with *dies* corresponding to *lux*.[2] For *Olympo* meaning 'the sky' cf. 412 (just quoted), Varro *LL* 7.20 *caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum, montem in Macedonia omnes*, and Ov. *Fast.* 5.169 *Atlas umeros oneratus Olympo*, and for the identity of mountain and heaven,

[1] Homer's (*Od.* 5.294) ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ may have poetically inspired Vergil's (*Aen.* 2.250) *et ruit Oceano nox* (towards the evening), of which the present *lux*...... *emersit Olympo* (morning comes) is the precise counterpart.

[2] Interestingly there is a close correspondence between 5.691 (see *ad loc.*) and Stat. *Theb.* 5.177 as well.

dating from Homeric times, cf. J. Schmidt R.E. 18.1.277.21ff. – For the verb's perfect tense see 12 n.

2 Argolicus . . . Idmon the fact that Idmon, son of Apollo 1.228, came from Argos (ARh 1.139f.) has only indirectly been mentioned in 1.239. Idmon is 'the one who knows' as well as 'the one who sees', a true seer. The loss of the brains of the expedition may be considered a serious setback which the Argonauts have to learn to cope with; cf. Jason's desperate speech 37–54. For Idmon as a priest see further the note on 9 *Mopsus. Argolicus* in a position with much focus may be intended to emphasize his situation as a foreigner, the guest of *hospes Lycus* (8). – The verse is framed by attribute and substantive; also 17, 55, 566, 619 (Contino 76).

morbis (causal ablative): *morbus* seems to refer to a contagious disease (cf. 17 n.), in contrast to the description in ARh of Idmon's death caused by a wild boar (ARh 2.815ff., with Scholiast, cf. *ad* ARh 1.139); the latter cause of death is supported by Hyg. 248, who groups him among those *qui ab apro percussi interierunt*, as well as by Apollod. 1.9.23.1, *Arg.Orph.* 725, Ov. *Ibis* 504. – Sen. *Med.* 652ff. apparently confuses the death of Idmon with that of Mopsus in Libya.

rapacibus with *fatis* once before in Sen. *Her.O.* 107f. *quisquis sub pedibus fata rapacia/ et puppem posuit fluminis ultimi.* Related is Sen. *Oed.* 125 quoted in 3 n. *labitur.*

3 '(through the action of disease and greedy death) Idmon collapsed, fully aware that now would come the end of his life' (cf. 1.238f.).

labitur Idmon is 'succumbing to disease'; cf. Luc. 2.265 *volnere labens* (TLL VII. 2.782.59). The words *fatis . . . rapacibus/ labitur* were possibly influenced by Sen. *Oed.* 124f. *stirpis invictae genus interimus,/ labimur saevo rapiente fato. labi* as *mori* has been further developed by Stat. *Theb.* 1.632 *labuntur dulces animae,* 9.885 *labimur.*

extremi . . . tum . . . aevi cf. VF 6.636 *talis in extremo . . . emicat aevo.* Compare further *primi aevi,* 357. For the use of *extremus* see 13 n. – The reading of the Mss. *extremi sibi tum non inscius aevi* was not accepted by Langen, who printed the conjecture of Baehrens *extremi sibi dudum conscius aevi,* for the simple reason only that Idmon had been aware of his fate for a long time (1.239). However, *tum* should be construed not with *non inscius,* but with *extremi.*

non inscius alluding to the name *Idmon* (see above; cf. Sen. *Med.* 652 *Idmonem quamvis bene fata nosset*). For *inscius* cf. Verg. *G.* 3.189 *(equus) etiam inscius aevi* ('having faith in'; cf. Mynors *ad loc.*). Negated

inscius aevi is found in *Aen.* 8.627f. *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi/ fecerat Ignipotens*, Ov. *Met.* 15.11 (where *aevum* stands for 'period') *veteris non inscius aevi.*[3] – For the theme of a *vates* knowing the way of his end, yet not being able to change destiny, cf. *Aen.* 9.328 *non augurio potuit depellere pestem.*

*

4. at memor Aesonides nimium iam vera locuti
5. Phineos hinc alios rapto pavet Idmone luctus.
6. tum comiti pia iusta tulit caelataque multa
7. arte Dolionii donat velamina regis,
8. hospes humum sedemque Lycus.

4/5 'But Aeson's son is aware of what Phineus had already spoken <only> too truly and fears from now on other sorrows since Idmon has been taken away'.

4 memor cf. 4.591f. (Phineus speaking) *hic . . . comitum . . . si quem/ perculerit vicina lues ne defice casus/ praedicti memor* (cf. 15 below).

nimium iam vera locuti cf. Ov. *Ep.* 5.123: *a nimium miserae vates mihi vera fuisti* (Oenone about Cassandra), *Pont.* 3.9.49 *Musa . . . index nimium quoque vera malorum.* The subjective *nimium* reflects his thoughts (*memor*) from Jason's point of view.

5 is one of the small number of – partial – Golden Lines (according to a broad definition of 'Golden'), on which see 79 n.

Phineus his words in 4.425–636, predicting the future 553–625.

rapto . . . Idmone cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.9.1 *de rapto . . . epistula Celso.*

pavet forms of *pavere* occur 23 times in VF, which is a remarkably frequent use; the verb is absent from Vergil (though *pavor* is present, 7 occurrences as against 20 in VF), but it does occur, albeit rarely, in Ov. *Met.*, Luc., Stat. *Theb.*, *Ach.*, Sil. (TLL 10.1 807.25ff.). In the present book it can be found in 5, 297, 335, 338, 442. Maurach 215, speaking of Statius, nicely characterizes the Flavian passion for words of horror: "Zu . . . gesellen sich die Pathos-hervorlockenden Reizwörter wie *tremendus, formidandus, trepidus, furor*, als unüberbietbare Kennzeichnung: es ist ein ausgesprochenen "lauter" Text" (cf. MacKay, who gives for Statius 16 cases of *pavere* and 7 of *pavor*).

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[3] Present *inscius* landed in Korn & Slaby's *Concordantia* under *iscius.*

alios . . . pavet . . . luctus *pavere* transitively as in, *e.g.* VF 1.26, 8.449, etc. For *luctus* cf. 4.598 (Phineus) *sic quoque non uno dabitur transcurrere luctu.*

6 pia iusta as in 1.458f. *ardentis . . . / reliquias, multum famulis pia iusta moratis. iusta* stands for 'funeral offerings'; in a dramatic context in Sen. *Med.* 999 *coniunx socerque iusta iam functis habent* (cf. also next note). Kleywegt (in prep.) *ad* 1.80 emphasizes that *pius* refers to the ritual nature of the action, not to the moral intentions of the people involved.

tulit for the tempus see 12 n. For *ferre* used with *iusta* cf. (TLL 7.2.722.26ff.) Ov. *Fast.* 2.569 *hanc, quia iusta ferunt, dixere* **Feralia** *lucem,* 5.480, *Tr.* 4.10.80.

caelata Gebbing (1878), Langen: "*i.e. acu picta*" (cf. 3.10 *(Clite) picto auro variaverat*). Used here in a picturesque way for the first time of textures, to be followed by Sil. 14.658 and Claud. *Rapt.* 1.256. – *caelata* occurs in an unusual sense as if it were a deponent verb in 1.402, 6.53, mentioned by Langen 14 (*de usu passivi tamquam medii Graecae linguae*).

multa (arte) cf. *Aen.* 5.270 *multa . . . arte.*

7 Dolionii referring to the inhabitants of the town Cyzicus in the Propontis, with a king who is also named Cyzicus (2.636). The Doliones are not mentioned elsewhere by VF, but come from ARh (e.g. 1.947). Venini (1971a) believes VF has consciously avoided ARh's display of erudition by casually mentioning, rather than explaining, such geographical niceties. For other instances where ARh is apparently required to be known to the reader before he is able to understand VF's text see (in 1–216) 44, 65, 76, 100, 109, 114; for cases in 216–695 see 232 n.

velamina the *vestes* of 3.10. See also 11 n. *positumque feretrum.*

hospes humum for alliteration in book 5 see 21 n.

humum sedemque the combination does not seem to have been used in poetry before VF. For *humus* cf. Prop. 3.7.25 *reddite corpus humo* (Ω), Cic. *Tusc.* 1.36 . . . *corporibus; iisque humo tectis, e quo dictum est 'humari'.* For *sedes* meaning 'grave' cf. VF 7.207f. *ossa . . . componam, sedemque dabo, Aen.* 6.152 *sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulchro,* 6.328 *priusquam sedibus ossa quierunt,* 6.371, Ov. *Met.* 10.33 *serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unam.*

The passage *Aen.* 7.3f. *et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen/ . . . signat* (death of Caieta) is a parallel in words and motif of the first

part of *Aen.* 7 to the first part of *Arg.* 5. (A priori, this would be expected; *Aen.* 7.1–36 are the last lines of the '*Odyssee*' part, in the same way *Arg.* 5.1–216 are still involved in a description of travelling). Further parallels are the trembling sea at Sinope and the use of *radere* (108). Some claim correspondence between the nocturnal cries of Circe's monsters and the toils of the Chalybes (see *ad* 140). On the subject cf. Schetter 301, Mehmel 56, Adamietz 108ff.

8 Lycus name of the king of the *Mariandyni* (4.171) and host of the Argonauts. Also the name of an important river of his kingdom (see map in Delage, p. 143; cf. Xen. Anab. 6.2.3 ἐνθαῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὡς δύο πλέθρων. The river figures in 2.724. In spite of several examples in Vergil of persons named after a river (cf. note *ad Aen.* 7.532 in Fordyce) in the present case Lycus ('wolf') is a fairly typical proper name, from which it may be concluded that the river was named after the king (cf. the support of Levin, pp. 224–225).

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8. flens arma revellit
9. Idmonis e celsa Mopsus rate. robora caedunt
10. pars silvis portantque arae; pars auguris alba
11. fronde caput vittisque ligant, positumque feretro
12. congemuere: dies simul et suus admonet omnes.

8 arma one might think of 'his gear', the rudder, and take this as an allusion to Hom. *Od.* 11.74 and 12.15 (Elpenor, with an oar), *Aen.* 6.233 *imponit suaque arma viro remumque tubamque* (with Austin, taking *remumque tubamque* as explaining *arma*). On the other hand *arma* may refer to his actual weapons, as was the case in *Aen.* 6.217 *decorantque super fulgentibus armis* (of the same Misenus), 11.196 (the fallen Trojans), Hom. *Il.* 6.418 (Eetion); the more so in view of verse 214 (a parallel in the composition, see *ad loc.)*, where the Argonauts' defense is involved. For Idmon bearing arms see further 11 n.

revellit In Augustan poetry and in Lucan the verb has strong connotations of separating, uprooting; giving in the present case emotional overtones not required by the context,[4] just as in, *e.g.*, 15, 26, 32 (compare Index, Style).

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[4] If metrically possible one would have preferred to read *avellit.* As to *revellere arma,* would VF, as a lapse, have interchanged Idmon and Tiphys? A helm could be torn

9 e celsa . . . rate *celsa in puppi* is frequent in the *Aeneid*, *celsae rates* in *Aen.* 8.107. A ship is a *ratis*, *puppis*, *carina*; *navis* is not used by VF (though it was in the *Aeneid*), nor does it occur in Lucan, Statius; cf. some statistics in Watson 1985:441.

Mopsus functions as the leader at the funeral. Mopsus and Idmon shared a position as *vates* (1.227–239, 1.384, 4.546) and priests (3.440 and here). In ARh Mopsus is more often than Idmon involved in augury (1.65, 1086; 3.543, 916, 938). VF appears to be adding an emotional touch of his own by introducing Mopsus as possessed by a god in prophetic frenzy (1.257ff.). But Mopsus also delivers a fine speech on things hereafter (3.372–416). Mopsus and Idmon are both involved in real fighting (3.98, 175), but actual bird-watching is absent for both.

In 1.227 Idmon, calm, rational, *plenus Phoebo quieto* (1.230, let us say 'apollinic'), concerned with omina involving birds, intestines, flames, is contrasted with Mopsus. On their relationship cf. Hunter ad ARh 3.543: "In the *Naupactia* 'Idmon stood up and ordered Jason to undertake the task' (fr. 6 Kinkel). This suggests that here, as perhaps elsewhere, the seer Mopsus performs the same structural rôle as Idmon did in the earlier epic; in *Arg.* Idmon is killed by a boar before Colchis is reached, and Mopsus is the only seer on the expedition in *Pythian 4*". For their respective rôles as 'minor Argonauts' cf. also Kleywegt 1991:230.

robora caedunt VF might have seized the opportunity to imitate stark scenes of felled trees as Hom. *Il.* 23.117–120, Enn. V187–191 = S175–179, Verg. *Aen.* 6.179–182, 11.135–138. Lucan (3.440–445), Statius (*Theb.* 6.90–107), Silius (10.507–534) exploited and extended the motif. However, in their simplicity the few words could have been borrowed from Homer (*Il.* 23.118f.) δρῦς . . . /. . . τάμνον. On the typical scene of a funeral see S.M.A. Voeten in her Dutch thesis 'Typische scenes in Statius' Thebais', diss. Univ. of Amsterdam, 1987, 143ff., who mentions our case as a shortened, incomplete version of the 'typical scene'.

10 The verse, with spondees in the first four feet, is of a rare type, which in the present book also occurs at 32, 295, 309, 505, 599. In all cases the use of *ssss* (Duckworth 1967) is chosen for significant

away, as it is in *Aen.* 5.858f. *cum puppis parte revulsa/ cumque gubernaclo.* The words *e celsa rate* (9) refer to the *puppis*.

reasons (see *ad loc.*). The metre of 10 may depict the comrades' low spirits, and perhaps the heavy labour involved in gathering the wood.

pars . . . pars cf. *Aen.* 6.218, 222 in the Misenus story *pars . . . expediunt, pars . . . subiere.*

arae used for *rogus, pyra* (see Norden ad *Aen.* 6.177), in a dative of direction (Summers 44); for other possible instances see index.

alba fronde Langen explains this as boughs from *Populus alba,* White Poplar, and refers to Servius *ad Aen.* 5.134: *aut populea quia ludi funebres sunt et haec arbor ab Hercule a inferis allata est . . . nam et ipsa arbor Acherusia vocatur.* The same occurs in Sen. *Her.F.* 893f. *stantes, sacrificus, comas/ dilecta tege populo (sc. Herculei).* Compare Gransden *ad Aen.* 8.276.

11 caput (conjecture in the Editio Princeps for a lacuna in the Mss.). Kramer (1913) proposed *comas.* The combination of *comae* (or the metrically impossible *crines*) with *fronde* is more frequent; before VF (*Aen.* 4.148, 8.274, Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.110, Ov. *Ars* 1.108) as well as after him (Statius four times, e.g. *Ach.* 1.289 *fronde ligare comas,* Sil. 4.726f.). *fronde* and *caput* are linked before our epic in Sen. *Ag.* 583, and after it only once (Sil. 4.659). *ligare* has been used with 'head' in Sen. *Thy.* 686 *vitta capita purpurea ligat*; with 'hair' in Tib. 1.6.67f. *quamvis non vitta ligatos/ impediat crines*; cf. Luc. 3.280f. *auro ligatas/ substringens comas.* In this sense, not 'fastening' but 'winding around', *ligare* does not occur in Vergil or Ovid; in VF in 2.268 *hederisque ligat artus,* 5.149 *mitra ligat virum.* In the present verse *comas* could be a slightly more traditional choice; though a recalcitrant poet like VF (according to Schenkl[5] a foreigner not yet mastering Latin!) may for that very reason actually have preferred *caput.*

fronde vittisque on the habit of binding a garland around the head of a corpse Toynbee 44 mentions for Rome the laying of a wreath around its head. In the Greek world there is more evidence for wreaths, but the *vittae* are also mentioned: Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 599ff.

599 σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθὼν οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκεις;
602 λαβὲ ταυτὶ καὶ στεφάνωσαι
603 καὶ ταυτασὶ δέξαι παρ' ἐμοῖ

Scholiast *ad* 603: καὶ ταυτασί: τὰς ταινιάς ἃς τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔπεμπον οἱ φίλοι. In Sen. *Med.* 802f. Medea speaks *tibi* (= Hecate) *funereo de more*

[5] Schenkl 1871:273, as well as K. Schenkl, Anzeige von P. Langen *Argonautica, Wochenschr. klass. Phil.,* 1898, 6.

iacens/ passos cingit vitta capillos. In addition Idmon was a priest; cf. *Aen.* 3.80f. about *Phoebique sacerdos/ vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro.*

positumque feretro 'placed on the bier': cf. *Aen.* 11.149 *feretro Pallante reposto,* and Ov. *Met.* 9.503f. *toro . . . positae*; further *Aen.* 2.644 *positum . . . corpus,* 11.30, 4.681 *sic te ut posita . . . abessem.* – The model for a funeral near the sea is that of Misenus (*Aen.* 6.212–235). There we find *decorant super fulgentibus armis, fit gemitus, tum membra toro defleta reponunt purpureasque super vestis, velamina nota coniciunt; pars ingenti subiere feretro.* Somehow, in only a few more words, a much more coherent picture.

12 congemuere *congemuere* should be compared with ARh 2.837 ἤματα δὲ τρία πάντα γόων. Because ARh is often supposed to be known to the reader (see 7 n.), *congemuere* may be considered as the closing word of the description, now that after all those preparations they have lamented Idmon during 3 days.

Perfect ending in *-ere* is more frequent than *-erunt*; in VF I count from Contino 20 a ratio of 124/14, which is very close to the proportion in the *Aeneid,* 233/30, according to Pye. Present tense *congemunt* would in any case be metrically impossible. On *congemere* with object Austin *ad Aen.* 2.631 knows of only one other occurrence each in Lucr. and Verg., and two in Stat.; while in classical prose there is only one from Cic. and one from Suet. With regard to the tempus, in 1–12 present tense is dominant (3, 5, 7, 8 (if present), 9, 10, 12 *admonet)* with perfect tense in 1, 6, 12. *emersit* and *tulit* seem to set the scene for their following lines, explaining what took place or was done on that day; *congemuere* is concluding a scene.

dies simul et suus admonet omnes 'all the time everybody is reminded of their own <final> day as well'.

dies . . . suus the day of everyone's own doom. Some authors (D.J. van Lennep, in Schenkl 1883; Langen) refer to *Aen.* 10.467 *stat sua cuique dies,* which in my view should instead be compared with our 6.628 *habeat sua quemque dies.* – In respect of the gender of *dies* E. Fraenkel ("Das Geschlecht von *dies*", *Glotta* 8 (1917) 24–68) emphasizes the dependence of VF on Vergil's practice as formulated by Norden: in the nominative singular with adjectives based on an *-o* root there was a metric advantage in applying feminine gender; where there is not, as in cases of *ille,* or *iste,* Vergil uses masculine gender, as in all cases of casus obliqui and in the plural. That is to say, the feminine gender known from colloquial practice (the 'term'

in forensic terminology) has been introduced into artificial poetic language for metric purposes only. Where the attribute and *dies* are separated by other words, the boon of a short syllable was welcomed.

In cases like *sua* . . . *dies* we sometimes find the meaning 'time span'. Feminine *dies* is then probably meant to be taken in its sense of life's limit, while in *dies suus* the sense of one specific day (of each one's own doom) would predominate.

admonet 'to remind as a warning' cf. *Aen.* 6.618f. *Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis/ admonet: . . ./ discite iustitiam moniti.*

a.2. *13–62: Death of Tiphys*

Next Tiphys the helmsman dies, which makes all the Argonauts pessimistic about the fate of their expedition. Jason gives vent to his feelings in a long complaint (37–59). One funeral mount shall cover both Idmon and Tiphys. The subject comes from ARh 2.851–884. Eigler 58–64 comments upon Jason's complaint. He points out that in 38 *nostri* is the *pluralis maiestatis* of the *ductor*, that in 39 *mihi* and *ipse* (41) his personal feelings appear; three short questions mention Tiphys, Idmon, and Hercules. In ARh there is no model for the long monologue. The two complaints about Cyzicus (3.290–313, 3.316–329), as well as the present one, have the colour of tragedy.

*

13. Ecce inter lacrimas interque extrema virorum
14. munera, quem cursus penes imperiumque carinae,
15. Tiphyn agit violenta lues cunctique pavore
16. attoniti fundunt maestas ad sidera voces:

13 inter lacrimas prosaic, in poetry only in Phaed. 4.18.4 and Juv. 10.260f. (TLL 7.2.842.72ff.). It also occurs at VF 2.428).

inter . . . interque anaphora, a frequent phenomenon.

virorum rare in VF (6 cases, all as the last word of a line). On genitive *virum* see 55 n. After Vergil the frequency of *virorum* increases. I counted the following frequencies of *virorum* over *virum* (only genitive): Vergil 3/36, Lucan 13/2, VF 6/24, Statius 9/20, Silius 24/40.

extrema/ munera cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.60 = *Aen.* 4.429 *extremum hoc . . . munus*, *Aen.* 3.488 *dona extrema.* For different though similar terms cf. Catul. 101.3 *ut te postremo donarem munere mortis*, *Aen.* 11.25f. *supremis/ muneribus*, Ov. *Pont.* 1.7.29 *supremum in funera munus.* The three adjectives, *extremus*, *postremus*, *supremus* seem synonymous in the tem-

poral sense. *extremi* is used in 3, *supremo* comes in 30; *munera* (*vana*) reappears in 30.

14 cursus . . . carinae for the peculiar form of alliteration, recognized by Ceccarelli (1986), of *cur-* and *car-* see 325 n. At the beginning of book 5 the phenomenon is frequent: lines 14, 19, 21, 22/ 23, 36.

imperium in view of *Aen.* 12.58f. *decus imperiumque Latini/ te penes*, *cursus imperiumque* can be interpreted as nominatives; course and command of the ship would be a hendiadys for 'sway over the course of the ship'. Tiphys is the navigator as well as the helmsman, as in 1.418 *cui regna ratis, cui tradere caelum.* The use of *imperium* can be compared with *regimen* in Sen. *Med.* 617f. *Tiphys in primis, domitor profundi/ liquit indocto regimen magistro.*

15 agit Langen: '*i.e. agitat*', citing as parallels Hor. *Epod.* 5.89 *diris agam vos*, 7.17, *S.* 2.3.44. In addition cf. VF 7.142f. *cum saevior ipse/ turbat agitque sopor* or Acc. (*ap.* Cic. *Div.* 1.45) *quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque. agit* was probably influenced by ARh 2.817 (Ἴδμονα) ἐπεὶ χρεὼ ἦγε δαμῆναι, as well as by *Aen.* 4.465f. *agit ipse furentem/ in somnis ferus Aeneas.* For *agit* / *agitat* cf. 79 n. on *udus* / *uvidus*, or VF 1.679 *fluentia* for *fluitantia.*

lues 'pestilence' (cf. 17 n.) is again (cf. 8 n.) a word with strong emotional connotations, whereas ARh only speaks of a μινυνθαδίη . . . νοῦσος (2.856). In book 4 *lues* is used of the Harpies (432, 503, 529). However, in 4.592 Phineus had warned the Argonauts against the *vicina lues* in the *regna Lyci*, the local death toll. There is no parallel for the combination with *violenta.* On the demise of Tiphys cf. Sen. *Med.* 619ff. *litore externo, procul a paternis/ occidens regnis . . ./ iacet.*

pavore – On *pavor* see 5 n.

16 fundunt maestas . . . voces since Catul. 64.125 *imo fudisse e pectore voces* and Cic.; cf. *Aen.* 11.482 *maestas . . . fundunt . . . voces.* Also VF 1.504 *fundit Sol pectore voces.* No other examples are known of *fundere voces* with a directional expression like *ad caelum, ad deos*; the one that comes closest is Ov. *Met.* 12.469 *verba . . . fudit vacuas . . . in auras.* For *maesta vox* cf. 4.69f., 8.362, Catul. 63.49, *Aen.* 2.280, 11.482 (from TLL 8.48.17ff.). – The word *maestus* is relatively frequent in VF; TLL *s.v.* gives the proportion of *maestus* over *tristis* in the *Aeneid* as 36/43, in Ovid as 65/137, in Lucan as 38/32, in VF as 39/23,

in Statius as 84/99. *maestus* is the more unusual word in prose authors: Liv. 28/71, Plin.Min. 5/33, Sen. (phil.) 10/82.

*

17. 'arquipotens adverte, precor, nunc denique Apollo!
18. hoc, pater, hoc nobis refove caput, ulla laboris
19. si nostri te cura movet, qui cardine summo
20. vertitur atque omnis manibus nunc pendet ab unis!'
21. dicta dabant ventis nec debita fata movebant.

17 arquipotens not found before VF. The meaning is '*arcipotens*' (not attested) and apparently it is formed on the analogy of, *e.g.*, *arquitenens* and *sagittipotens*. The first has been applied to Apollo by earlier poets, such as Vergil (*Aen.* 3.75), Ovid (*Met.* 1.441, 6.265), Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.95 *arcitenens . . . pater*, *Ach.* 1.682; to the constellation Sagittarius by Cic. (*Arat.* 272a, 182, 405). The latter also uses *sagittipotens* as a metric synonym of Sagittarius (*Arat.* 73, 325), which is followed by Germ. *Arat.* 566, Man. 2.187, 246, 408, 504, 523. The model for the present use of *arquipotens* is Hom. *Il.* 1.37 'Αργυρότοξ', used as a substantive. Apollo can bring about contagious disease with his bow (*morbus* 2, *lues* 15). (For *potens arcu* in quite another context (applied to *Amor*) see Ov. *Am.* 3.2.55f. *nos tibi, blanda Venus, puerisque potentibus arcu/ plaudimus*).

Other epitheta ending in *-potens* are *armipotens* (VF 3.253, for Mars), applied by Vergil to Minerva, Deiphobe, Mars, Achilles, by Ovid to Mars (followed by Statius), by Claudian to Sparta and to Theodosius; or *bellipotens* (Mars, 1.529, *Aen.* 11.8, Stilicho in Claud. 7(*III cos. Hon.*).144), *ignipotens* = Vulcanus, 2.80, 5.452, *Aen.* 6 times, in books 8, 10, and 12 (not elsewhere in epic poetry), *omnipotens* (almost exclusively used in epic) in VF for Jupiter (1.592, 2.117, 3.249), Juno (1.81), and Somnus (8.70). Further: *pennipotens* Lucr. 2.878, 5.789, *signipotens (nox)*, Cic. *Arat.* 475, hapax, *tridentipotens* (Neptune), Sil. 15.159. Productivity of the ending *-potens* may have started with Ennius; Norden remarks ad *Aen.* 6.500: '*armipotens* auch bei Accius und Lucrez, also wohl ennianisch wie *bellipotens*', with Ann. V181 = S198 (*stolidum genus Aeacidarum*) *bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes.* – On *arquipotens . . . Apollo* framing the line cf. 2 n.

adverte 'take notion of us'; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.829 (*dei*), *advertite cuncti*. *advertere* is used affirmatively in 4.667 *advertere dei*.

nunc denique the meaning 'now, after all' suits most cases; in a more literal sense 'finally', as in Ov. *Met.* 9.346, as well as in a

more ironic sense, as in *Ep.* 12.105. More pregnant this becomes 'now, to finish things', 'to make an end now', as here and in Luc. 8.101 *nunc clades denique lustra,/ Magne, tuas* and Ov. *Ars* 3.121. *denique* in VF, as well as in Vergil (with one exception) occupies the fifth foot in the hexameter. The combination is not a frequent one (TLL 5.1.534.62).

refove 'revive' (OLD 2a) with regard to a person not yet dead, as in Ov. *Met.* 10.187, Man. 5.565, Luc. 9.25, 8.67. For statistics on the occurrence of *refovere* cf. Korn *ad* 4.280b/291.

caput, ulla for the 'bucolic punctuation' see 101 n.

18/20 'if any regard move you of our enterprise, which is involved in a situation of extreme importance and now for its whole scope depends from one person's hands'.

19 si Several notions may crowd around *si*. The reader may think of formulaic *si* ('as true as it is that'), as it is used in prayer formulae; cf. Hor. *Saec.* 37ff. *Roma si vestrum est opus, di . . ., quietem* (46) . . . *date* (47). G. Williams (1969:107): "The *si*-clauses have less the force of a condition to be fulfilled in certain circumstances than of an assurance that they are, of course, being fulfilled: so the meaning of *si* is nearer to 'since'". The more sceptically minded may prefer the purely conditional sense: 'if at all'. However, Jason's *pietas* is emphasized in other passages (1.79/81, 1.241/42) and gods *may* be merciful: 4.652 *deus adfuit ausis*, 4.560 *te propter*. For the negative aspects of the rôle of the gods cf. 285 n.

(caput . . .) cura movet, qui cardine in examples of alliteration with some words interspersed, it is often difficult to know whether this is a device applied deliberately. Instances in the widest sense in lines 1–216 are 1, 29/30, 27, 44, 46, 90, 106, 123, 154/155, 158, 160/161, 162/163, 163, 164/165, 174/175, 176, 188, 189, 190, 196, 197, 208, 211. (For 217–695 see 219 n.). In some of these, like 1 *lux haud laeta* (one word group) or the lines around 163 (with frequent repetition of various consonants and vowels), the purpose is clear; and so in the present case because of the coincidence of ictus and accent in *cura* and *cardine*.

cardine summo cf. Williams ad *Aen.* 1.672: '*cardo* = hinge, hence critical time, turning point'. Followed by Stat. *Theb.* 10.853 *fatorum in cardine summo.*

20 vertitur OLD 3b: 'to be involved (in difficulties)'; cf. Pl. *Mer.*

122 *res in periclo vertitur*, Liv. 26.5.13 *in summo discrimine rem verti*, Phaedr. 2.8.19 *magno in periclo vita vertetur tua*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.85.2 *si . . . salus Galliarum in discrimine verteretur.*

pendet J. Weitz (1630) quotes Luc. 5.685f. *cum tot in hac anima populorum vita salusque/ pendeat* (to Caesar), to which should rather be added its counterpart (to Magnus) 769 *non olim casu pendemus ab uno?*

ab unis *unus* is an adjective 'of one person' rather than a numeral. For the plural cf. Lucr. 3.616f. *unis/ sedibus . . . haeret.* In Cic. the plural of *unus* occurs not only with the '*plurale tantum*' *litterae* but also with *mores*, or in *Fam.* 13.7.4 (= SB 320) *pro his unis.* The wording may have been influenced by Luc. 5.769 quoted above. – For the motif of confidence in the navigator cf. *Aen.* 3.201f., where '*even*' (*ipse*) Palinurus cannot find his way.

21 dicta dabant alliteration; other cases in (1–216) 7, 17, 25, 26, 27, 35/36, 45, 70, 72 (conj.), 85, 93/94, 96, 97, 99, 101, 109, 113, 115, 116, 124, 125, 128, 131, 137, 139, 145, 146, 154, 155, 163 (twice), 164 (twice), 168/9, 184/5, 188, 191, 205, 206, 211, 215. For 217–695 see 217 n.

dicta dabant ventis the expression combines the senses 'praying (in vain)' and 'giving (to be borne away)'. The sense of letting the winds carry words is found in Catul., Verg., Ov., *e.g.* *Fast.* 5.686 *abstulerint celeres improba verba noti.* Looking for the Greek background Bömer *ad loc.* refers to ARh 1.1334 and Theocr. *Id.* 29.35 αἰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρην ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιτρέπῃς. To these, however, may be added as *their* source Eur. *Troad.* 418f. ὀνείδη . . ./ ἀνέμοις φέρεσθαι παραδίδωμ'; in addition, as far as Latin is concerned, Catul. 65.17 *ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis*, VF 8.173, Lucr. 4.931. The wording *ventis dare* is only found at Ov. *Ep.* 2.25, but cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.4.11 *Euris/ da mea verba ferenda*, *Am.* 1.6.42 *verba dat in ventos*, see further Brandt *ad loc.*, Brandt *ad Ars* 1.388. *dabant ventis* can be considered rendering *ARh* 1.1334f. where a lapse is given to the winds, ἀνέμοισιν/ δώομεν ἀμπλακίην. Compare further, including expressions of scorn and loathing, Nisbet/Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.2 with literature.

The gist of the expression is the same as the original sense of Ecclesiastes 1.2 'habel habalim' (הבל, *hbl* = a slight breeze, a draught, 'draught of draughts'), translated after the example of the LXX in the Vulgate as *vanitas vanitatum.*

dabant . . . movebant With regard to the imperfect tense it is no longer the present completion of the action (as in setting the

scene 12 n.) which is stressed, but the fact that it took place in the past; the whole is summarized and given comment upon, as *e.g.* in *Aen.* 4.253–257 *volabat, secabat* (example from Pinkster 1990:238).

debita fata 'fatal destination'. The combination has not been used by others (TLL 6.1.368.21). On *debita* cf. *Aen.* 2.538 *debita praemia*, 11.165f. *sors ista senectae/ debita erat nostrae. debita* is frequent in both Vergil and VF; in the present book it occurs at 180 (*loca*), 277 (*dux*), 530 (*finis*). Compare also *Aen.* 11.759 (*fatis debitus Arruns*) with VF 3.461 (*exciderint* . . ., *quae debita fatis*). Compare also VF 5.508 *indebita*.

fata movebant 'they did <not> bring about a change in destiny'. Compare VF 5.87 *fata immota manent.* Used in a literal sense ('to keep moving') by Man. 2.271 *(astra) consensu quoque fata movent et foedere gaudent*; used with singular *fatum* in Ov. *Met.* 15.807 and Liv. 25.16.4 and with *fata* by Luc. 6.605 *si fata minora moveres* (TLL 6.1.364.21). Compare further *Aen.* 1.262 *et volvens fatorum arcana movebo.*

*

qualem praecipiti gravidum iam sorte parentem
natorum flet parva manus trepidique precantur
duret ut invalidis et adhuc genitoris egenis,
haud aliter socii supremo in tempore Tiphyn
ante alios superesse volunt.

22/24 the pathetic vignette of the children wailing over their father seems to be VF's own invention. However, Prof. Kleywegt draws my attention to N.J.H. Sturt, unpublished thesis,[6] who refers to Hom. *Od.* 5.394ff. where children are glad when their father recovers from a terrible illness. There may be inspiration by Homer, with a significant change in emphasis to the children's feelings during the disease.

22 On bisyllabic words in the first spondee cf. 53 n.

praecipiti . . . sorte *praeceps* is used 21 times for rushing in, coming down, throwing down, 'headlong'. The combination with *sors* is very uncommon; Heinsius proposed *morte* but this is too much like a *lectio facilior.* The whole sequel with *gravidum* has a very Valerian ring.

gravidum 'weighed down by' (equivalent to *gravatus*, Caussin in Lemaire, 1824), as in Luc. 5.735 *dum fovet amplexu gravidum Cornelia curis pectus* (OLD 2b), Sil. 13.542f. *noxa gravido et peccasse fatenti/ vasta patet populo (sc.porta)*, and, more or less, in VF 8.98 *quam gravida nunc*

[6] *Tradition and innovation in the Silver Latin epic simile*, London, 1977.

mole iaces. Langen emphasizes that in Luc. the breast is 'full' of troubles, that in Sil. the mind is 'pregnant' of guilt, but I do not consider it necessary to make these distinctions.

23 natorum flet Garson (1970:185), ' the diaeresis at the end of the second foot of line 23 is particularly abrupt, as if echoing the sob of a bereaved child'. He continues: 'The sustained alliteration of *-r* may represent the harshness of inexorable fate'. Although I would not apply the term 'alliteration', the many *-r*'s in 22–24 may indeed convey emotion.

parva manus Gebbing (72) and Langen (in the wake of Bulaeus's '*parvuli*') suggest an enallage ('small children'); Mozley, however, translates literally 'puny band of children'. '*Small* children' increase the pathos. The comparison is an original one and based on psychological similarity.

24 duret ut *durare* (intr.), originally 'to become hard, to endure', becomes 'to last, to live', mainly in prose; in poetry Ov. *Ep*. 1.49, Lucr. 3.338 *neque post mortem durare videtur*, 562, Luc. 4.53, Juv. 10.254.

invalidis 'physically weak', normally used with similar disarming overtones.

genitoris see 126 n.

25 tempore V+L *funere* **C** (*funus* as 'death', TLL 6.1.1604.52, *Aen*. 11.646f. *dant funera ferro/ certantes*). Kramer's edition p. LXXX argues that *funere* was introduced on the analogy of Stat. *Theb*. 8.212 *sic fortes Minyas subito cum funere Tiphys/ destituit*. If an emendation, it may have drawn some support from the present book 5.226 *extremo sub funere* or from Ov. *Met*. 3. 137 *suprema funera*. To me 'in his last hours' seems preferable to 'right before his death'.

26 ante 'in preference to', in use in prose as well as in poetry since Ennius and Vergil (e.g. *Aen*. 1.347); cf. TLL 2.135.60.

superesse volunt cf. *Aen*. 9.212 (Nisus speaking:) *te superesse velim*; 10.47 *liceat superesse nepotem*. *superesse* corresponds to *durare* (24).

*

26. mors frigida contra
27. urget et ille recens oculis intervolat Idmon.
28. exanimum frustra Minyae clamore morantur
29. avellique negant: vix membra rigentia tandem
30. imposuere rogo lacrimasque et munera flammis
31. vana ferunt, crescit donis feralis acervus.

26 mors frigida also in *Aen.* 4.385 *frigida mors* with Pease; cf. Lucr. 3.930 *frigidus pausa vitai,* VF 3.178f. *frigidus . . . somnus* (that is, death). In Claudian-Flavian style VF increases the horror by introducing the contagious *lues* (15); 8 n. In any case the Argonauts are unwilling to understand the metaphysical threat of Sen. *Med.* 616 *exigit poenas mare provocatum.*

27 ille . . . Idmon continuing the contrast of *contra* (26).

recens of the image of Idmon in their mind 'fresh in the memory'; of the fact of his demise 'of recent occurrence'.

intervolat quite an uncommon word, here with dative, elsewhere only in Col. 8.10.1 of thrushes with gerund, intransitively used, and with accusative in VF 2.613 and Stat. *Theb.* 2.539 of a lance. *intervolat* is perhaps used in the same way as *volitare* for shades: *Aen.* 6.292f. *tenuis sine corpore vitas/ admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,* Lucr. 4.36 *volitant ultroque citroque per auras,* Ov. *Met.* 14.411 *tenues animae volitare videntur.* This is the more so the case since shades appear 'before one's eyes': *Aen.* 2.773f. *umbra Creusae/ visa mihi ante oculos,* and Cic., *leg. Agr.* 2.59 *volitat enim ante oculos istorum Iuba, regis filius* (Lemaire, 1824). Compare further *circumvolare,* as in Hor. *S.* 2.1.58 *me mors atris circumvolat alis,* or Sil. 9.45 *nox Stygia quas (sc. animas) iam circumvolat umbra. intervolare* may have been chosen because the prefix *inter-* may convey a notion of 'interfering with, hampering, obstructing the thoughts', in view of, *e.g., intercludere, interdicre, interloqui, interpellere, interrupere.* The Minyans have their worries about the illness of Tiphys aggravated because they see the image of Idmon before their eyes.

28 Minyae 'Argonauts' (cf. ARh 1.228ff.), emphasizing the close connection between (Thessalian) Iolcos and (Boeotian) Orchomenos, founded by Minyas, one of Jasons ancestors; cf. Bömer ad *Met.* 6.720, Korn ad VF 4.6–7a. Vian ARh 10–12 lists three interpretations that ARh possibly had in mind for the texture of the connection.

exanimum *exanimus* (here and 2.465) can be used interchangeably with *exanimis* (6.346, 1.737) as it is in Vergil, where the choice is dictated by euphonic considerations. Norden (Anhang IV) observes a general avoidance of homoioteleuton, though a certain repetition of sound may be considered an *ornatio* (example *G.* 3.219). VF 1.737 (*exanimes atavos*) may be a case of such avoidance; but here and in 2.465 a pattern of *u* sounds appears to determine the choice, as opposed to 6.345, where it rather seems to be determined by the *e* sounds. The same holds for *semianimus/ semianimis* (5.134) as well as

for *unanimus/ unanimis* (not in book 5); of another example only *magnanimus* is represented in VF (not in book 5), not *magnanimis*. More data in Neue/ Wagener 2.152ff.

frustra since Catullus found in all epic poets in a frequency of the same order as that of *nequiquam* (TLL 6.1.1429.60ff.).

clamore morantur cf. *Aen.* 5.207 *consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur*. However, the meaning is different; *Serv. ad loc.* explains the words as *retro agunt* (*sc. navem*, Williams), that is, by reversing the oar movement. By contrast in the present situation *morari* has the meaning of 'to delay, hold back, prolong' with object *exanimum*.

29 avelli cf. *Aen.* 11.200f. *servant/ busta, neque avelli possunt*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.81 *non potes avelli*.

vix is separated from and therefore not to be combined with *tandem*. The sense of *vix* may be 'with difficulty', even 'reluctantly' (OLD 1c), in VF the only case of this particular denotation, in poetry also in Man. 3.229 *vix finit luces Cancer, vix bruma reducit* (*luces* for 'day', *bruma* for 'Capricorn').

membra rigentia cf. Luc. 2.25 *membra . . . fugiente rigentia vita*.

30 imposuere 'concluding' perfect tense after *tandem*, while in vv. 26/31 there only is present tense; cf. 12 n. on *congemuere*.

31 (munera) vana *vana* is the poet's own, but based on *inania*, and *lacrimasque et munera vana* is a hendiadys based on Ov. *Met.* 2.340f. *et, inania morti/ munera, dant lacrimas*.

feralis acervus *acervus* instead of *rogus*. The only parallel is Statius *Theb.* 4.469 *tristes . . . acervos*.

*

32. ut vero amplexus fessi rupere supremos
33. et rapidae sonuere faces, tunc ipsa cremari
34. visa ratis medioque viros deponere ponto.

32 On the prosody cf. 10 n. Utter dejection is expressed in the slow spondees.

amplexus . . . rupere combination unparalleled, but expanding from expressions like cf. 1.351 *solverat amplexus*. (*amplexus*) . . . *supremos*: combination equally unique (TLL 1.1998.9 and 39). The rigorous word evokes pathos (8 n.). For *supremos* cf. 13 n.

fessi on the use of *fessus* compare Poortvliet 42 and Axelson 29f., together with statistics in Watson 441.

33 rapidae faces combination unparalleled, except for Stat. *Theb.* 4.467 (TLL 6.1.406.5).

(cremari)/ visa ratis cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.85 *rates Iris Iunonia paene cremarat.* The scene is selected by Summers for its picturesqueness, and followed by Sil. 10.264 *tum visa cremari/ Roma viro.*

34 medio . . . ponto 'surrounded by sea'. Shelton 257: 'The Argonauts are not literally at sea at this moment nor are they in the middle of their journey. The expression is meant as yet another testimonial to their dependence on Tiphys to guide them through this medium which is still strange and frightening'. The ship seems to be *on fire,* and their anguish is as if it happened far out on the high sea. – The notion 'in the midst of open sea' can be expressed by several words and is already Vergilian. In VF: 3.725 *medio . . . ponto,* 4.756 *medio de gurgite,* 5.121 *medio sale,* 5.667 *medio . . . mari,* 6.328 *medio . . . aequore.* Contino 99 marks the verse as a *versus leoninus* (a mediaeval term), rhyming from middle to end (*medio . . . ponto*); other examples in the present book are 164, 221, 262, 281, 381, 531, 618, 683.

deponere aligned with the passive *cremari*; cf. 665 n. Actually the sense is more or less *visa est ratis cremari et visa est ratis viros deponere.*

*

35. non tulit Aesonius geminis flagrantia cernens
36. corpora cara rogis, sed pectore ductor ab imo
37. talia voce gemit: 'quid tantum infensa repente
38. numina? quas nostri poenas meruere labores?

35 non tulit *Aen.* four times, Verg. *Ecl.* once, always occupying the first dactyl. On the basis of the two cases *Ecl.* 5.89 *non tulit Antigenes* and *Aen.* 9.622 *non tulit Ascanius* there is apparently no justification for preferring *Aesonius* to *Aesonides* (see next note).

Aesonius (L) *Aesonidus* **V**, *Aesonides* (Courtney and several other editors). *Aesonius* is used 14 times in VF, only as an attribute; *Aesonides* 53 times, only as a substantive.

If *Aesonides* were read, lines could be found in Vergil similar in having a name in the first clause, an apposition in the second, such as *Aen.* 1.195f. (*onerat Acestes . . . dederatque . . . heros*) and *Aen.* 1.412 (*Venus . . . saepsit et . . . dea fudit*). But although on the other hand the separation of an adjective like *Aesonius* from its head by a conjunction would be unusual, there are some relevant parallels in the *Aeneid* with the coordinating conjunctions *-que, ac, aut, ve*: 1.712 *infelix . . .*

nequit ardescitque . . . Phoenissa, 2.552f. *dextraque coruscum/ extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem*, 3.161f. *non haec tibi litora suasit/ Delius aut Cretae iussit considere Apollo*, or 3.628f. *haud impune quidem, nec talia passus Ulixes/ oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.* Separation by adversative *sed* would in any case represent an extreme, for which I have no parallels. Yet *Aesonius* seems more likely in view of 1.240f. *ductor/ Aesonius* and was already used by Ovid in connection with the son of Aeson in *Met.* 7.156 *heros Aesonius.*

36 cara *carus*, being a word often used to describe subjective feelings ('dear to me', 'dear to him', etc.), is frequently used in direct speech; where not, exceptionally in descriptions where affection is ascribed to a person, *e.g.* 2.95 *Lemnos cara deo*, or 2.220. For the rest *carus* reflects what an author is suggesting about the sentiment of one of the poem's actors; *e.g.*, here 'the bodies dear *to him*', 5.88 *carae spectacula turbae*, 'the group of heroes so dear to them', 5.345 *carae iuncta Dianae*, 'her beloved Diana', 645f. *cara Mycenes culmina*, 'her dear Mycene'. Other examples of words typical of direct speech in 315 n. (*en*), 324 n. (*potius*).

pectore . . . ab imo cf. Catul. 64.127 *imo fudisse e pectore voces*, *Aen.* 6.55 *pectore ab imo*, 2.288 *gemitus imo de pectore ducens*, 11.377, 840 *imo pectore*, Ov. *Met.* 2.655f. *ab imis/ pectoribus*. For *imus* see 159 n.

ductor in poetry for kings, commanders, leaders, in the wake of Lucr. 1.86 *ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum*, a literal rendering of Homeric ἡγήτωρ (*Il.* 11.816), followed by Vergil *Aen.* 2.14. In the present book *ductor* also at 128, 184. – Servius *ad Aen.* 2.14 explains that *ductor* is '*sonantius*' than *dux*.

37 talia voce gemit Langen: *gemens dicit.* On transitive *gemere* cf. K/S 1.262 and TLL 6.2.1761.17ff.; compare *Aen.* 1.94 *talia voce refert* in a similar complaint by the hero (= 1.208 in a different context).

tantum infensa *tantum*, 'to such an extent'; *tantum* as if it were *tam* is a late development (Sz. 758, Löfstedt 1.266), with some early examples. Most of those dealt with by C.F.W. Müller, *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, suppl. Syntax des Nominativus und Akkusativus im lateinischen*, 62, concern a correlation with *quantum*; however, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.795 *cui tantum invisa deorum?* – For the feelings of uncertainty cf. Hercules in VF 4.55 *incertus quid Juno ferat.*

infensa/ numina *infensus* is very seldom applied to the gods, but cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5.25.3 *tunc infensos Batavis deos.*

repente see 226 n.

*

39. bina (nefas) toto pariter mihi funera surgunt
40. litore. magna adeo comitum numerosaque pubes?
41. aut socios rapit atra dies aut ipse relinquo
42. sontibus impulsus Furiis. ubi Tiphys? ubi Idmon
43. fata canens? ubi monstriferae par ille novercae?
44. te sine, Thespiade, nos ulla movebimus ultra
45. aequora? nec summa speculantem puppe videbo
46. Pleiadumque globos et agentes noctibus Arctos?
47. cui Minyas caramque ratem, cui sidera tradis?

39 bina . . . funera distributives instead of cardinals occur in poetic style since Vergil; in prose since Pliny (Sz. 212).

nefas parenthetic *nefas* ('o horror', OLD3b) for instance in Catul. 68.89, *Aen.* 1.773, 8.688, 10.673, Stat. *Theb.* 11.360.

toto . . . surgunt Sabellicus (1502) conjectured *tuto* (cf. 2. 546 *litora tuta*), but *toto* was defended by Strand, not least because it appears in juxtaposition with *pariter*; he cites several places where words meaning 'several' (*totus, omnis*) are combined with *pariter*, as in the case of *totus* in 7.612 (to which can be added from TLL 10.1.283.64 Man. 1.229). In addition *toto* finds support in *Aen.* 11.199, Luc. 8.148 *litore toto*, and 9.180 *toto litore busta/ surgunt*. The latter attestation is highly significant, supporting *surgunt* (*ed. princ.*) against *surgent* (as in **L** and **V**), and even making redundant most of the defense of *surgunt* as put forward by Strand.

40 pariter adverbs are relatively infrequent in epic poetry (Håkanson); however, the frequency of adverbs ending in *-iter* (*pariter* and *aliter*) in VF is the highest of all dactylic poets.

numerosaque *numerosus* in the sense of 'numerous' is a distinctly prosaic word not in Vergil, Horace, Ovid; VF also has it in 1.436 *numerosus phalanx*. In poetry before VF occurring in Manilius and Lucan (4.25); followed by Stat. *Theb.* 1.567. – Verg. and Ov., however, do have *innumerus*.

41 rapit Hunink 85 emphasizes the high incidence of *rapere* in Lucan (110 instances), Statius (103) and Silius (122), as against Vergil (75). In VF 62 forms of *rapere* occur, which is relatively frequent, and with dissimilar objects as *membra* (5.244), *fugam* (5.271); it seems to be a word for scenes of agitation. Some peculiar ways of using *rapere* are listed by Langen *ad* 255 n.

atra dies from *Aen.* 6.428f. *ab ubere raptos/ abstulit atra dies*, 11.28f. *Pallas, quem . . ./ abstulit atra dies*. With regard to the feminine gender Norden *ad loc.* strongly supports Fraenkels view that it is *metri causa*; see 12 n.

(socios) ipse relinquo Hercules, Hylas. *relinquor* **C** sounds like a pointless conjecture, since *aut . . . aut* should imply more or less equivalent parts (*aut socios rapit atra dies aut ipse relinquor* is the more impossible in view of *impulsus Furiis*).

42 sontibus . . . Furiis possibly a meaningful inverse of the incrimination in *Aen.* 6.570f. *sontis ultrix . . ./ Tisiphone quatit insultans*, where Tisiphone rather than being guilty – as here – is punishing the guilty; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.610f. *sontes/ extinxere dei.* Jason seems to be saying that it is as if he would abandon the comrades through the action of Fate, unwillingly. *impulsus Furiis* quotes *Aen.* 10.68.

ubi Idmon? For the possible model of the marked elision between the fifth and sixth foot cf. *Aen.* 1.99f. *ubi ingens/ Sarpedon* (relative *ubi*, not interrogative, in Aeneas's complaint during the storm), followed by Statius in *Theb.* 12.561 *ubi illest*, 632 *ubi ingens*. It was called an "unbeliebte Synaloephe" (Norden 456); another example is *Aen.* 9.351f. *ibi ignem/ deficere . . . videbat.* See further Williams *ad Aen.* 3.581.

43 fata canens cf. *Aen.* 8.498f. *haruspex/ fata canens*, 10.417 *fata canens silvis genitor.*

monstriferae in the derived sense of 'sending monsters' here and in Luc. 2.3 *monstrifero . . . tumultu.* In VF 2.498 *monstriferi . . . sinus* and 5.221 *monstriferis . . . campis* more literally applied ('carrying monsters'). VF likes attributes ending in *-fer.* Listed in Korn *ad* 4.139 are 21 examples with first occurrences: *astri-*, *auri-*, *ensi-*, *flammi-*, *horri-*, *gemmi-*, *igni-*, *leti-*, *luci-*, *lucti-*, *monstri-*, *nubi-*, *ostri-*, *paci-*, *pesti-*, *saxi-*, *-signi-*, *somni-*, *sopori-*, *turi-*, *veli-fer*; a similar list in J.C. Arens, *Mnemos.* (1950) 241ff. did not contain *ensifer.* – When Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, are pooled, the total number of such compounds is 80; of which 24 in Vergil, 58 in Ovid, 21 in Lucan, 21 in VF, 38 or 39, depending on a conjecture, in Statius. For adjectives ending in *-ger* see 137 n.

par novercae *par* as 'a match for' (TLL 10.1.267.28); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.15f. *ope Palladis/ Tydiden superis parem.*

noverca cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.15 (*Hercules*) *referebat iussa novercae*; *Aen.* 8.288f. *novercae/ monstra manu . . . premens* (*Hercules*). The *saeva noverca*

previously figured in her traditional rôle (cf. Gray-Fow) in 1.287, 3.580; cf. 5.188.

44 te sine as in 1.765, 8.433. *sine te* 7.491; cf. *se sine* 7.475, *me sine* 7.455. *te sine* is used in addressing Maecenas in Verg. *G.* 3.42, Turnus in *Aen.* 12.883, but more generally in hymns; cf. Nisbet/ Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.9, E. Norden *Agnostos theos*, Leipzig/ Berlin 1913, 57f., 349f.

Thespiade vocative of *Thespiades* (cf. vocative *Hyperionide* in 471, or *Aen.* 6.126 *Tros Anchisiade*). Because the hypothetical transcription of Greek *thespieus*, 'living in Thespiae', does not easily fit into a hexameter, *thespiades* ('son of the founder of Thespiae') is used (as in 1.124). It is not easy to find parallels for the practice; Eur. *Andr.* 1024 Ἰλιάδαι βασιλῆες[7] may refer to their actual descent from King Priamus, son of Ἶλος. Poortvliet *ad* 2.367ff. refers to *Cecropidae*, for the Athenians, where, however, the name of the *town* is not concealed in the patronymicum. In 1.93 and 1.478 *Argus* is explicitly mentioned as coming from Thespiae; and, accordingly, he is addressed as *Thespiades* in 1.124. In 2.368, however, as here, *Thespiades* refers to Tiphys. The reader can only know that the latter is a Thespian from ARh 1.105f. Τῖφυς ... κάλλιπε δῆμον / Θεσπιέων (see 7 n.). Compare further Kleywegt (in prep.) *ad* 1.93. – Statius coins the neologism *thespiacus* (*Theb.* 7.341, *Silv.* 2.7.16) for *Boeotian* Thespiae (though he also uses *thespiades, Theb.* 2.629, 3.14, 9.293). On Thespiae = Thespeia the Scholiast *ad* ARh 1.105 (Τῖφυς δ' Ἁγνιάδης ...) gives ... Σιφαεὺς δὲ δημὸς Θεσπιέων. Θέσπεια δὲ καὶ πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Also Steph.Byz. s.v. speaks of *Thessalian* Thespiae: Θέσπεια·πόλις Βοιωτίας. ... δευτέρα Θεσσαλίας. .... ὁ πολίτης Θεσπιεὺς καὶ Θεσπιὰς καὶ Θεσπίς.

ulla movebimus/ aequora cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.11.5f. *o utinam, nequis remo freta longa moveret/ Argo funestas pressa bibisset aquas, Luc.* 5.448f. (*classes* ...) *inertia tonsis/ aequora moturae.*

ulla ... ultra alliteration; cf. 19 n.

45/46 the scene is modelled on Odysseus navigating from Calypso's island to the Phaeacians, firmly keeping the helm and navigating by the Pleiads and Bootes as well as the Bear (the Wagon that peers at Orion); see 45 *speculantem* n.

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[7] Compare Ov. *Met.* 10.160 *abripit Iliaden* (Ganymede, *Iliacusque puer* in Ov. *Tr.* 2.406), with Bömer pointing to Ov. *Ep.* 16.338, *Anth. Pal.* 9.77.5, 102.2.

45 summa puppe In VF *puppe* occurs 8 times, as against *puppi* (abl.) once: 8.177.[8] Vergil has only *puppi* (11 cases). Ovid sometimes has *puppe*, e.g. *Met.* 7.1, or *Ep.* 10.133 *di facerent ut me summa de puppe videres.* Lucan has *puppe* 17 times as against no examples of *puppi* (abl.); in Statius *Theb.* the ratio is 15:2. Apparently, since Vergil, a change in preference took place from *puppi* to *puppe*; cf. 220 n. *puppem.*

speculantem sc. **te**; cf. (Πληιάδας τ') ἐσορῶντι in Hom. *Od.* 5.270–272 as well as VF 1.419 *adsidua Tiphys vultum lassatus ab Arcto;* further *Aen.* 6.338 *(Palinurus) dum sidera servat.*

46 Pleiadumque globos probably based on Sen. *Med.* 96 *Pleiadum greges.* According to TLL 6.2.2052.13 the only similar use of *globi* is found in Cic. *Rep.* 6.16 (*Somn. Scip.) stellarum autem globi terrae magnitudinem facile vincebant*; compare, however, also Germ. *Frg.* 5.1 *astrorumque globos et sidera maximus Atlas/ protulit in populos.* Heinsius proposed *choros* in view of Prop. 3.5.36 *Pleiadum spisso cur coit igne chorus?* and Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.21f. *Pleiadum choro/ scindente nubes*, as well as Prop. 3.22.10 *Hesperidumque choros.* However, *globos* may have replaced *choros* in the author's mind for the sake of deliberate variation. See further 565 *nitidum chorus.*

Trisyllabic *Pleias* is exceptional; in the six other cases VF uses disyllabic *Plias*, including 5.305, 414.

The Pleiads form a congregation of 6 stars near the Taurus (the latter equivalent to the Hyades); Aratus *Phaen.* 257f. speaks of ἑπτάμοροι δὴ ταί γε μετ' ἀνθρώπους ὑδέονται, ἓξ οἶαί περ ἐοῦσαι ἐπόψιαι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν. Taurus is one of the constellations of the Zodiac; when during the day the Sun has entered the sign, it is invisible, while at night, together with the Sun, it is hidden in the North below the horizon (April, May). Half a year later a full moon can stand in Taurus. That particular night Taurus will come up precisely at sunset and go down at daybreak. Shortly *before*, the stars are still under the horizon at sunset, but can accordingly be seen coming up in the east; they cross the horizon, and this is important in eastern cultures placing a high value on the 'horoscope', the first star seen to rise above the horizon after the birth of a youngster, dependent upon the true ὥρα (cf. Bouché-Leclercq 257ff.). Shortly *after* that full moon's night, the Pleiads figure already in the eastern sky after sunset, and therefore can be seen setting in the west in the morning; cf. Tullius

[8] Korn *ad* 4.85 speaks of *two* instances of *puppi* (abl.), but in 2.622 *transmissaque puppi*, *puppi* is rather dative of the agent.

Tiro *in* Gel. 13.9.4 about the Hyades *("in capite tauri") nam et cum oriuntur et cum occidunt tempestates pluvias largosque imbres cient.*[9] The morning setting of the Pleiads is the sign for the rainy season and, therefore, the months closed to shipping as in Hes. *Op.* 619–621:

εὖτ' ἂν Πληιάδες σθένος ὄβριμον Ὠαρίωνος
φεύγουσαι πίπτωσιν ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον
δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θυίουσιν ἀῆται.

Several astronomical details can be found in H. Gundel, RE 2485–2523, and in R.J. Getty 1948.

The Pleiads can be used in this way to divide the year into halves; cf. Theophr. *Sign.*6 διχοτομεῖ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν Πλειὰς τε δυομένη και ἀνατέλλουσα, and Hes. *Op.* 383f. Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων/ ἄρχεσθ' ἀμήτου, ἀρότοιο δὲ δυσομενάων.

Bears and Pleiads had been combined previously, normally with additions (Bootes, Orion, Hyades):

Hom. *Il.* 18.486f.

Πληιάδας θ', Ὑάδας τε, τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος, / Ἄρκτον θ'

Hom. *Od.* 5.270–273

αὐτὰρ ὅ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνηέντως,
ἥμενος· οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε
Πληιάδας τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὀψὲ δύοντα βοώτην
Ἄρκτον θ'

Verg. *G.* 1.138 *Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton.*
Ov. *Met.* 13.293 *Pleidasque Hyadasque immunemque aequoris Arcton.*

agentes (sc. navem) cf. Sen. *Her.F.* 6f. *Arctos* (sing.) . . . *classes* . . . *Argolicas agit* (= *ducit*; with Fitch), VF 1.689 *Tiphys agit* (sc. *navem*), followed by Stat. *Theb.* 5.412f. *ipse graves fluctus clavumque audire negantem/ lassat agens Tiphys.* For constellations guiding ships cf. Tib. 1.9.10 *ducunt instabiles sidera certa naves,* Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.1f. *ferae, quarum regis altera Graias . . . rates.*

arctos both Bears; cf. 6.40 *geminas Arctos,* Verg. *G.* 1.245 *perque duas . . . arctos.*

47 caramque ratem According to Perkins's (1974) theory VF was a poet mechanically counting his lines to see whether there had been sufficient lines (at least 8) since the last occurrence (*cara corpora,*

[9] Equally important is the situation in which the Pleiads are visible around their conjunction with the Sun: in May they rise shortly before the Sun, to fade in due time (Sil. 16.135f. *Aurora . . ./ vixque Atlantiadum rubefecerat ora suorum*); in April the Sun blots them out with its light until after sunset, when they are visible for a short time before setting.

36) to allow a repeat, or whether he felt himself forced to make use of a synonym. But even in a small sample of his poetry the hypothesis is falsified, in view of lines 88 + 90, 89 + 94 + 98, 160 + 163, 183 + 190, 335 + 338, 415 + 422, 446 + 449, 546 + 548.

sidera tradis the observation of the firmament, which is the heart of navigation; cf. (*tradere*) *caelum* 1.418 (to Erginus).

*

48. carpere securas quis iam iubet Aesona noctes?
49. hoc labor, hoc dulci totiens fraudata sopore
50. lumina et admotis nimium mens anxia Colchis
51. profuit? heu quantum Phasis, quantum Aea recessit!

48 'who tells now Aeson to spend nights without worrying'? Because Aeson is, they think, very far away (he is in fact already dead), and has never met Tiphys, *quis* cannot refer to Tiphys. Therefore there seems much to recommend the conjecture of Samuelsson 1899 p. 119 *quis suadet Iasona* "*Iasona eleganter dictum pro* me (cf. Sen. *Thy.* 281, 476; *Her.O.* 1662ff.)". However, the alteration would be considerable. If *Aesona* is maintained, *quis* must refer to a hypothetical voice having told him that his son was safe in the hands of Tiphys.

49 hoc labor, hoc is strongly reminiscent of *Aen.* 6.129 *hoc opus, hic labor est*, parodied in Ov. *Ars* 1.453. The different syntax may perhaps invite misunderstanding, and a surprise effect. Compare *hic labor* in 688.

fraudata sopore the combination not elsewhere (TLL 6.1.1263.60).

50 admotis conjecture of Gronovius, 1662, 'als ob die Kolcher sich den Minyern näherten statt umgekehrt' (Kleywegt 1986b: 2465). The Mss. read *adtonitis*, explained by Courtney as developed from *adtomis*. Compare *Aen.* 3.72 *terraeque urbesque recedunt*, *Aen.* 3.496f. *arva Ausoniae semper cedentia retro/ quaerenda*, 5.629 or 6.61 *Italiae fugientis*, Ov. *Met.* 9.466f. *ubi terra recessit longius*, . . . Elsewhere in VF: 4.544f. *quantumque propinquat/ Phasis*, 5.51 *quantum Aea recessit!* – They come too (*nimium*) close to the Colchians.

mens anxia cf. Catul. 68.8 *mens anxia*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.17 *tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis.*

hoc profuit? with internal object; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 12.19.4 *non patietur te nihil profuturo maerore consumi.*

Aea is the old fairyland of the Sun (or the Sun's son, epony-

mous to *Aeetes*) where his daughter (Circe) or granddaughter (Medea) uses her witchcraft to defend a golden fleece against the young prince with a number of all-powerful servants. The prince vies for the king's daughter's hand; the fleece seems to be a foil for the maiden. Meuli (1921) sketches how the servants from Grimm's fairy tale can still be recognized in fossil form, e.g. Lynceus with his lynx-like piercing eyes, Autolycus the supreme thief. Aea is the mythical land 'at the world's end', originally in the East (Lesky), later split into a western Aea for Circe (who speaks to Odysseus of the Argo having sailed back from Aea through the Planctae (*Od.* 12.70 Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα παρ' (back from) Αἰήταο πλέουσα) and an eastern one for Medea. Here Aea becomes a town in Colchis (Scholiast *ad* ARH 2.417 πόλις . . . ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τῆς οἰκουμένης), situated *at* the Phasis (*Strabo* 1.2.39 = C45 ἥ τε γὰρ Αἶα δείκνυται περὶ Φᾶσιν πόλις, Plin. *N.H.* 6.13 *(Phasis) oppida in ripis habuit complura; . . . maxime autem inclaruit Aea . . . Nunc habet Surium tantum)*. Aea and Colchis eventually became synonyms (cf. in the prophetic repeat of the shade Cretheus 1.742f. *stupet Aea deorum/ prodigiis quatiuntque truces oracula Colchos*).

51 profuit . . . recessit verse framed by 2 verbs (finite forms) with weak homoioteleuton. The type of framing, distinctly less frequent than in Vergil (384 times in *Aen.* according to Kvíčala 279; cf. Norden 392–393), also appears in 506, 586, 668, in addition to the much less interesting cases of framing verbs without homoioteleuton: 118, 352, 421, 426, 489, 492, 568, 672, 678, 690.

heu cf. 686 n.

recessit see 50 n.

*

52. nunc quoque, si tenui superant in imagine curae,
53. adsis umbra, precor, venturi praescia caeli
54. rectoremque tuae moneas ratis.' haec ubi fatus
55. sola virum flammis vidit labentibus ossa.

52 tenui . . . in imagine *tenuis* is a word applied to shadow as well as to shades (cf. Bömer ad *Met.* 6.62); elsewhere it is not used with *imago*, but it is with *animae* (Ov. *Met.* 14.411 *tenues animas volitare videntur* (*volitare* after Lucr. 4.36 with *umbra*)), and with *umbra* (Verg. *G.* 4.472 *umbrae . . . tenues*). *imago* is used here as an alternative for *umbra*. In Cic. the notion 'likeness of the dead' probably prevails, *Div.* 1.63 *eis* (= *affectis morbo*) *occurrunt plerumque imagines mortuorum*, *Tusc.* 1.37 *animos*

enim per se ipsos viventis non poterunt mente complecti, formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. Inde: 'animae umbra opertae, imagines mortuorum', . . .; apparently from 'likeness' in cases like *Aen.* 2.772f. *ipsius umbra Creusae/ visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago*, *Aen.* 2.793 = 6.701 *ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago*, *Aen.* 4.351ff. *patris Anchisae* . . . *terret imago*, the meaning of *imago* changes to 'ghost, shade', as in *Aen.* 4.654 *magna mei sub terras ibit imago.*

superant . . . curae *superare* elsewhere in VF almost always means 'to be superior' (as in 617); however, here the meaning is rather 'to remain', as in Hor. *Ars* 327f. *si de quincunce remotast/ uncia, quid superat?*, Ov. *Ep.* 10.149 *hos tibi – qui superant – ostendo maesta capillos*, Germ. *Arat.* 573 *saepe velis quantum superet cognoscere noctis*, Verg. *G.* 3.286 *superat pars altera curae.* (The latter *cura*, however, is exceptional in having only overtones of 'emotion, concern' and being primarily used for 'tending of animals').

53 adsis cf. *adsis* opening the line in Vergil *G.* 1.18, *Aen.* 4.578, 8.78 (in all three cases followed by *o*), *Aen.* 10.255 *adsis*, . . ., *diva*, VF 8.74 *nunc age maior ades* (to Somnus); see further Pease *ad Aen.* 4.578. The verb also occurs in *Aen.* 4.386 *omnibus umbra locis adero.*

One spondaic word in the first foot is exceptional. Norden (Anhang VIII) considers the possibility that the isolation of the relevant word is lessened by a following coordinator, or together with the following word forms a closely linked sequel. Alternatively the word itself may be a preposition or conjunction, or pronoun, or, specifically, the word may carry a strong focus. *adsis* is very emphatic. Summers 50 gave the following frequencies of one word spondee in the first foot: Vergil 1:33, Ovid 1:74, VF (book 3) 1:123, Lucan 1:28. He overstated the scarceness in VF by assessing only the atypical book 3, as is clear from the following Table of frequencies:

Two-syllabic, spondaic words in the first foot:

book	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
number	15	9	4	15	11	15	11	8

Overall, in VF 1:64 lines of the relevant type. In book 5: 22–53 –77 –263 –264 –356 –364 –383 –429 –567 –581.

umbra according to Nováková (par. 88) *umbra* has the sense of 'Totengeist', 'shade' in prose before the Principate. In the wake of Homer (σκίη) it is found in poetry, seldom in Ennius and Lucr. (4.38 *umbras inter vivos volitare*), more frequently in Vergil. She observes a shift in the meaning of *umbra* from 'shade' in Vergil to 'funeral rest'

with two applications: either emphasizing the immaterial rest, 'soul', or the material, 'remains' (as in 57); cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.496 *vos cinis exiguus gelidaeque iacebitis umbrae,* Stat. *Theb.* 12.150f. about Creon's sentry at the unburied corpse *stat pervigil illic/ umbrarum custos.*

venturi praescia caeli *praescia* is conjecture (ed. princ.) for *praesagia* Ms., strongly supported by *Aen.* 6.66 *praescia venturi* (absolute). *praescius,* like *praesagus* (433) is not known before Vergil.[10] *haud... venturi... inscius aevi* is Vergilian: *Aen.* 8.627f. *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi/ fecerat Ignipotens.* Ovid makes a combination with attributive *venturi* in *Met.* 13.162 *praescia venturi... leti.*

caelum can relate to the *weather* or to the *stars.* For the word in the present context cf. 1.418 *cui tradere caelum* (about Tiphys), or *Aen.* 3.513ff. *Palinurus.../ explorat ventos atque auribus aera captat;/ sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo.* Stars can *come,* but so can weather: cf. Pl. *Mos.* 108 *tempestas venit.*

54 rector in the present strict – nautical – sense in Vergil and Ovid: *Aen.* 5.176 *ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister;* also *Aen.* 5.161, Ov. *Met.* 6.232f. *rector/ carbasa deducit,* or *Met.* 11.482.

haec ubi fatus as in Luc. 8.775; not in these words in Vergil, but cf. *Aen.* 10.594 *haec ita fatus,* a faithful translation of Homeric ὣς εἰπών. In *Aen.* 5.32 *haec ubi dicta* (sc. *sunt*) *haec* is subject. Pease *ad* 4.30 has a note on similar expressions that simply indicate the end of a quotation; cf. 519. – An end pattern of two disyllabic words, the first of which is a pyrrhic, is unusual; then nearly always a monosyllable precedes (exceptions: 1.57, 1.841). Other verses of this type in the present book are 101 *ac fugit omne,* 126 *hinc magis alta,* 169 *et grave Titan,* 260 *et data seri,* 375 *nec minus inter,* 544 *haec quoque fato,* 550 *o Iovis alma,* 667 *sin ea mavors.* In addition two cases with elision reflect the same pattern: 93 *atque ea vixdum,* 509 *atque ea Phrixo* (Kösters 54ff., Norden 446ff., Williams *ad Aen.* 5.731).

55 sola... ossa substantive and attribute framing the hexameter; cf. 2 n.

virum on the use of the archaic (original) plural ending in *-um* see Sz. 1.278 and 13 n.

flammis... labentibus 'while the flames subsided'. Carrio's *lambentibus* would be appropriate for flames (cf. *Aen.* 2.684 or Lucr.

[10] *Aen.* 10.843 is considered Ennianic by Norden (Anhang IX), but that does not imply that Ennius used the actual word *praesagus.*

5.396), but not for seeing nothing but bones remaining. Apparently, this is a case of internal conflation of *Aen.* 6.226 *conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit.*

*

56. 'quod tamen externis unum solamen in oris
57. restat,' ait 'caras humus haec non dividat umbras
58. ossaque nec tumulo nec separe contegat urna
59. sed simul, ut iunctis venistis in aequora fatis'.

56 externis . . . in oris is apparently supported by the Augustan classics; cf. *Aen.* 7.270 *generos externis . . . ab oris*, Ov. *Met.* 9.19 *gener externis . . . ab oris.*[11] However, in the present passage **V**'s reading **extermis** competes with that of **L** and **C** (vet. cod.) **externis.** Pius 1519, basing himself for the first time on **V**, printed *extremis*, which was followed by several editors, lastly by Baehrens (1875), who in this case for once was supported by his adversary Schenkl (1875:644). There may be something to say for preferring *extremis* (cf. Verg. *G.* 2.171 *extremis Asiae . . . in oris*, Ov. *Met.* 8.788 *extremis Scythiae . . . in oris*), because of the link with Asia and *far* Scythia (where we are in the story; cf. VF 7.42f.). On the other hand Tiphys lies *litore externo* (Sen. *Med.* 619), and I feel the case for *externis* is the stronger because death abroad is the ominous thing, only slightly abated by the thought of this funeral together with a comrade. – OLD 3 *s.v.* explains present *orae* as 'lands' rather than as 'shores'.

quod unum solamen cf. Luc. 7.180f. *sed mentibus unum/ hoc solamen erat.*

57 caras see 36 n.

non The negation by *non* of the adhortative *dividat* (+ *contegat*) can be explained as a 'Begriffsnegation' (K/S 1.191) = 'constituent negation' and is marked as such by the contrast *non . . . sed* (Pinkster 1986); in this sense it is independent of the mode. *sed* occurs in 59.

umbras see 53 n.

58 separe *separ* is a very unusual word, not recorded before VF, after him only in Stat. *Theb.* 4.481 (*separe coetu*), as well as in Terentianus Maurus (*De Syllab.* 958, in Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* VI,

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[11] The *foreign* son-in-law comes in at VF 5.459 *gener Albanis Styrus qui advenerat oris*; and the *extremae orae* in 6.749 *extremas pugnae . . . in oras* are characteristically adapted with respect to (Ennius and) Vergil *Aen.* 9.528 *ingentis oras . . . belli.*

p. 353[12]) *sive in uno comprehensam sive verbo separi*, and in a few other later authors; Contino 38 lists Solinus, Cyprianus, Prudentius. – ARh 2.853 has in fact a separate tomb; he speaks of δοιὰ σήματα φαίνεται.

contegat cf. Liv. 26.25.13 *ut... eos uno tumulo contegerent.*

59 simul 'together'; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.181f. *quae duo mixta simul.../ ederit* (= beans and spelt). The joint tomb is apparently VF's interpretation of ARh 2.859f. τὸν δὲ παρασχεδὸν ἐκτερείξαν/ αὐτοῦ. Fränkel, in a learned note, puts the scholia in their right order, indicating that at least one scholiast gives παρασχεδόν a spatial meaning (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγύς), like VF. However, Vian AR279 says the word "a partout le sens temporel chez Apollonios", and Mooney (*ad loc.*) supports the interpretation 'directly afterwards'. – On the topos of *una requiescere in urna* – in general, however, an erotic motif – see Bömer ad Ov. *Met.* 11.706.

For the presence of the tomb Langen quotes Amm. 22.8.22, thereby somehow suggesting independent confirmation; however, that author is only quoting ARh, as is clear from the context, and is supported by Gualandri, 1968.

iunctis fatis cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.862 *iunctaque fata gemunt* (*et soror et Phrixus*), Sen. *Phaedr.* 1183f. *non licuit animos iungere, et certe licet/ iunxisse fata.*

*

60. haud mora, reliquias socii defletaque miscent
61. nomina. tum vivo frondens e caespite tellus
62. aggeritur cineremque Lyco commendat Iason.

60 haud mora starting the line in Vergil seven times as against once in one of the next feet; once more in VF, in 5.558.

reliquias cf. *Aen.* 5.47 *reliquias divinique ossa parentis*, which comes very close to VF 1.458f. *patris/ reliquias.*

reliquias socii... miscent cf. Mart. 7.40 *quem (senem) coniugis umbris miscuit*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.427f. *supremi/ admittat cineris consortem et misceat umbras.* On the reality of the ritual see Suet. *Dom.* 17.3 (quoted in Bömer *l.c. in* 59 n.).

defleta cf. *Aen.* 6.220 *membra defleta*; cf. VF 5.575 *defletosque duces.*

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[12] Text maintained by J.-W. Beck 408, 'Terentianus Maurus De Syllabis', *Hypomnemata* 102, Göttingen, 1993.

61 nomina *'autem pro viris ipsis'*, Bulaeus (1630). Langen, too, takes *nomina* as 'persons', but 'names' on a funeral stele would be quite appropriate, the more so in view of Ov. *Met.* 11.705ff. *inque sepulchro/ si non urna, tamen iunget nos littera, si non/ ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam. miscere nomina* would in any case be a peculiar expression.

vivo . . . e caespite in a funeral context such a green tumulus is described in *Aen.* 3.304 *tumulum, viridi quem caespite (sacraverat)*, *Culex* 393 *viridi ut foderet de caespite terram*, Pers. 6.31 *de caespite vivo.* More often there is mention of green turf on an *altar*; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.119 *Romani enim moris fuerat caespitem arae superimponere et ita sacrificare*, or Nisbet/Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.13f. *hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic/ verbenas pueri, ponite* (cf. TLL 3.113.56ff.).

frondens the transmitted text *(vivo) frondes et (caespite) tellus aggeritur* is suspect because *frondes* were piled upon the pyre *before* it was lit (cf. *Aen.* 6.215). Graevius, followed by Heinsius, changed the phrase to *vivo frondens e caespite tellus aggeritur.* For *frondens* cf. 3. 456f. *frondentibus intulit aris (dapes)*, Luc. 6.83 *frondentem . . . campum.* ARh 2.843f. describes Idmon's tomb as follows: σῆμα δ' ἔπεστι καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι,/ νηίου ἐκ κοτίνοιο φάλαγξ· θαλέθει δέ τε φύλλοις.

tellus for *tellus* in relation to burying (OLD 3b) cf. Luc. 9.486 *atque operit tellure viros*, or Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.214 *eque tua tumulum tellure levabit.*

62 aggeritur compare *Aen.* 3.63 *aggeritur tumulo tellus.*

a3. *63–72: selecting a new helmsman*

A crucial scene; after the sad start of the book the resolution to reach Colchis whatever may befall them there takes shape in a new navigator, setting sail as skilfully as the old one. In contrast to the democratic procedure in ARh (2.896) in VF the selection takes place by divine intervention.

*

63. Maesti omnes dubiique, ratem fidissima cuius
64. dextra regat. simul Ancaeus sollersque petebat
65. Nauplius. Erginum fato vocat ipsa monenti
66. quercus et ad tonsas victi rediere magistri.

64 dextra for a navigator's hand cf. 3.40f. *cadit inscia clavo/ dextera* (*sc. Tiphyos*), Luc. 3.599 *avertitque ratem morientis dextra magistri.*

regat cf. 1.418 *cui regna ratis* (about Tiphys).

Ancaeus In ARh there are *two* Argonauts Ancaeus, one from Arcadia (ARh 1.164) and one from Samos (ARh 1.188), bearing identical names and fates. Valerius mentions the son of Lycurgus 1.191, 1.377 (possibly 3.138), as well as the son of Poseidon (1.413f. from *Parthenia* = Samos). The latter has in ARh the upper hand over three competitors, Euphemus, Erginus (both sons of Poseidon as well), and Nauplius, a descendant of Poseidon. Euphemus, even able to walk on the sea (ARh 1.182–184), Erginus, and Ancaeus are listed together in ARh's catalogue of Argonauts (ARh 1.179ff.). Traditions concerning Ancaeus must have given him a formidable reputation in view of his occupying the middle bench together with Hercules (ARh 1.396ff.), and Stat. *Theb.* 5.398f. *cernimus . . . murisque immane minantem/ Ancaeum.*

65 Nauplius see 64 n.

Erginus see 64 n. Erginus the substitute helmsman (1.419) is selected as captain in VF, in contrast to ARh. Apparently there were different traditions in antiquity; the Scholiast at ARh 2.898 tells us that 'Herodórus says that Erginus became the Argo's navigator after Tiphys's death'. In Sen. *Med.* 618 Tiphys leaves the ship's *regimen* to an *indoctus magister.* In VF 8.177ff. Erginus proposes the return trip by way of the Danube, and is gratefully addressed by Jason as *fidissime rector* (8.197).

vocat (quercus) a whole ship is not called an oak elsewhere in VF (let alone a speaking one), nor in any other poet. The Argo has been called a *pinus* ever since Eurip. *Med.* 3f. Πηλίου . . ./ . . . πεύκη. On wood for ships see 435 n., footnote. Apparently only a *trabs* at the bow is meant here, which has been mentioned previously (in a dream), 1.302ff. *Dodonida quercum/ . . . vides . . . . Aequora tecum/ ingredior, nec fatidicis avellere silvis/ me nisi promisso potuit Saturnia caelo.* The explanation is in ARh 1.526f. ἐν γάρ οἱ δόρυ θεῖον ἐλήλατο, τό ῥ' ἀνὰ μέσσην/ στεῖραν Ἀθηναίη Δωδωνίδος ἥρμοσε φηγοῦ, and ARh 4.582 αὐδῆεν γλαφυρῆς νηὸς δόρυ. This is based on an old tradition, supported by Aeschylus (Radt fr. 20 = Mette 36) Ἀργοῦς ἱερὸν αὐδῆεν ξύλον, Callimachus fr. 16 Pf., Lycophron 1319ff., Sen. *Med.* 349 *ipsaque vocem perdidit Argo*, *Arg.Orph.* 1156ff. Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγὸς . . . Ὧδε δ' ἔφη: . . ., Claud. 26 (*B.Goth.*).15ff. *ipsamque secandis/ Argois trabibus iactent sudasse Minervam/ nec nemoris muti iunxisse carentia sensu/ robora, sed caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco/ arbore praesaga rabulas animasse loquaces.* Sidonius follows the tradition in *Carm.* 9.65 *non vectos Minyas loquente silva/ dicam.*

Nevertheless (cf. 7 n.) the reason why the ship is able to speak can again only be known from ARh. The tradition is already referred to in VF 1.2 *fatidicam ratem*, on which read Kleywegt 1986a:316. – Frank (1967) lists a series of parallels between books 1 and 5: the speaking oak only at 1.302 and here, Helice in 1.18 and in 71, etc.

fato monenti *monere* can be used for 'giving oracular explanation'; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.353 *quid menstrua luna moneret*; Ov. *Met.* 15.794f. *instare tumultus/ fibra monet.* The sense would be *fato monenti "Erginum!" quercus vocat Erginum. fato monenti* probably is an instrumental ablative like *vocare voce* (cf. *Aen.* 10.873 *atque hic Aenean magna ter voce vocavit). –* There are three other ablatives of the participle ending in *-i*, 5.230, 3.432, 4.263; in all three cases the participle has the full force of an adjective.

66 tonsas for oars in high epic style in Enn., Lucr., Verg., Man., Luc., Stat., Fordyce *ad Aen.* 7.28 and Harrison 152 back the traditional etymology from *tondere* (Festus; cf. Hom. *Il.* 7.5, *Od.* 12.172) questioned by Skutsch 218 but weakly supported by Walde/Hofmann *s.v.*

magistri irony in the choice of the combination *victi magistri, i.e.*, they have *not* become a *magister*, and further in the combination with *bulls*, alluding to quite another sense of *magistri* (see 67 n. *taurus*).

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67. ac velut ille, gregis cessit cui regia, taurus
68. fertur ovans (hunc omnis honos, hunc omnis in unum
69. transit amor) primo laetus sic tempore rector
70. ingreditur cursus.

67 ac velut ille, . . ., taurus the manuscript tradition has *ac veluti.* Carrio, in his *vetus codex*, found *ac velut ille*; cf. *Aen.* 10.707 *ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis/ actus aper*, *Aen.* 11.809ff. *ac velut ille . . . lupus*, *Aen.* 12.4ff. *qualis . . . saucius ille . . . leo.* In these cases *ille* is used to refer to extratextual information, in an appeal to knowledge available to the public, just as in the conversation in VF 4.467 *tune ille . . . Phineus rex inclitus?*

cessit 'is given to' (OLD 15, TLL 3.730.57); cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.532f. *o numen aquarum/ proxima cui caelo cessit, Neptune, potestas.*

regia 'kingship', as in 1.563 *regia mundo*, 1.668 *regia caelo*; cf. *Aen.* 7.210 *regia caeli*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.599 *regia caelo.* The bull as a king figures in Verg *G.* 3.228 *regnis excessit avitis*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.333f. *it pecus, regemque peremptum/ . . . armenta queruntur*, 8.596 *regnantis cervice . . . tauri.*

taurus another bull simile in 2.546–549 *qualis . . . victor ingreditur . . . taurus, ubi . . . pecoris stabula . . . revisit,* where in 545 *ovanti* also figures; and also in 4.196 (blank in Ehlers's edition), where, in my view, **C** has preserved the Valerian verse:

qualiter . . . . amnem
196. taurus aquis qui primus init spernitque tumentem
pandit iter[13]

The comparison with two bulls fighting about a mate, c.q. the herd, goes back to Soph. *Trach.* 507–528, Achelous as a bull fighting with Hercules (compared to two bulls by Achelous himself speaking at Ov. *Met.* 9.46ff.), and ARh 2.88 (Amycus and Polydeuces: men like bulls). Vergil takes the step (Thomas, 1988b) to speak of bulls fighting like men in *G.* 3.219ff., and back to men fighting like bulls in *Aen.* 12.103–106, 714–724. The combination of the words *magistri* – *ac velut ille* – *cessit* – *taurus* forms an elegant rearrangement of the same words in the bull simile of *Aen.* 12.715ff. *ac velut ingenti Sila . . ./ cum duo . . . in proelia tauri/ incurrunt, pavidi cessere magistri,/ mussantque iuvencae/ . . . quem tota armenta sequantur.* For all its shortness, our text recalls the great model, while in the meantime subtly playing upon the different meanings of *magistri* ('cowherds' or 'helmsmen').

fertur ovans cf. *Aen.* 6.589 *ibat ovans,* 11.758 *portat ovans.* See further note above.

68 hunc . . . hunc (*hinc . . . hunc* **V**): there is much to be said for considering this text from **L** original (with all recent editors), in view of the frequent anaphora of demonstratives elsewhere (Gebbing, 1878); *e.g.* 5.49, or *Aen.* 3.408 *hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto*; cf. 13 n.

honos in poetry alongside *honor.* According to Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.253, the apparent duplication is based on the metric possibilities of long *-os,* short *-or.*

69 laetus (*laetos* **C**): refers to *haud laeta,* 1. Just as, in the whole section 1–216, line 214 (see *ad loc.*) refers to line 9, so here in the subsection 1–72, line 69 refers to line 1: both are ring compositions.

rector also in 4.679 (Tiphys), 8.197 (Erginus); cf. 54 n.

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[13] Thilo (p. L) remarked '*si versus in libro bonae notae legetur suspitionem non moveret*'. – Statius takes up the simile in *Theb.* 7.436–440 *ac velut . . . si quando armenta per amnem/ pastor agit . . ./ . . . .; ast ubi ductor/ taurus init fecitque vadum, tunc . . .*

*

70. etenim dat candida certam
71. nox Helicen. iam prora fretum commoverat et iam
72. puppe sedens diras dimiserat ancora terras.

70 candida (nox) *candida nox* had been used before in the sense of a night 'for me as bright as the day' (Ov. *Ep.* 16.320), or in the sense of 'happy', as in Prop. 2.15.1 *o me felicem, o nox mihi candida.* But here *candida* for a 'clear' night is probably used for its value as an oxymoron; the night becomes as luminous as the stars are in Lucr. 5.1210 *candida sidera*, Man. 1.711 *candidus in nigro lucet limes Olympo*, where the contrast makes the night only seem darker (Kleywegt 1986b:2476 compares *clarae ... sidera noctis* 1.416, 4.82). For the reason mentioned in 69 n. (circular composition) *candida nox* also refers back (as a contrast) to *lux haud laeta* (1), as far as *laeta* can stand for 'bright'.

candida certam/ nox Helicen is an example of non-chiastic word order, according to Gebbing (1878) about equally frequent as chiastic.

71 nox Summers asks: do the heroes set sail at nightfall? Apparently they do.

Helicen another parallel to book 1; see 65 n. (*vocat*). Ἑλίκη for the Bear does not appear to have been in use before Aratus (*Phaen.* 37) and ARh (2.360, 3.745, 1195), after which it became popular with the Romans: Cic. *Arat.* VI.2, Ov. *Met.* 8.207, *Fast.* 3.108, Man. 1.296, Germ. *Arat.* 53, Sen. *Her.O.* 1539, Luc. 2.237; not in Stat. *Theb.* In Aratus (*Phaen.* 30ff.) Helice and Cynosura were nymphs who hid the young Zeus. It has been questioned whether the name was derived from the circumpolar movement (ἑλίσσεσθαι) (Gundel, RE 7.2858ff.).

iam ... et iam when the fleet takes to sea in Stat. *Theb.* 7.142ff., there is a similar anaphora of *iam.*

fretum commoverat cf. Lucr. 2.766 *ut mare, cum magni commorunt aequora venti*, itself followed by Vergil in *Aen.* 1.126 *Neptunus* (both 'the sea' and the god) ... *graviter commotus.*

et iam monosyllabic line endings occur in book 5 at 71, 218, 427 (*et iam*), all three preceded by another monosyllabic word (Kösters 53).

72 puppe cf. 45 n. Burman critized, and Hofman Peerlkamp defended, the presence of an anchor in the stern; it used to be in the

bow (*Aen.* 3.277 = 6.901 *ancora de prora iacitur,* Sil. 6.355 *unca locant prora curvati pondera ferri*). Hofman Peerlkamp referred to *Acta Apost.* 27.29. Because there the condition of the storm-tossed ship is particularly precarious, while in 27.31 anchors are let down explicitly from the bow, that example cannot represent the regular situation. Langen adduced a ship on Trajan's column with the anchor near the rudder, yet concluded that a lost line would explain what happened in the stern. I feel that there is not much evidence for VF showing himself an expert on ships and sailing; to him an anchor in the stern may have been quite natural. Casson 251 n.103 concludes 'galleys could also be anchored by the stern', on the basis of Polyaenus 3.9.63 παρήγγειλεν ... τοῖς μὲν κυβερνήταις ἄγκυραν ἀφιέναι κατὰ πρύμναν (a special case, since a raid is carried out from some triaconters, apparently ready to take off at a moment's notice).

sedens ... ancora Samuelsson thought *sedens* and *ancora* could '*nullo modo coniugi*'. The lacuna between *sedens* and *dimiserat* makes things still more difficult. It would be in line with VF's habits to make the change from Ov. *Fast.* 6.471 *navita puppe sedens "Delphina videbimus" inquit* to *puppe sedens ancora.* On *dimittere terras* see below.

diras in the Mss. there is a lacuna between *sedens* and *dimiserat* and there is no way to reconstruct the lost contents with any certainty. Carrio's *tristes* after the death of two comrades would not lack sense, but seems suspect in view of the presence of another *tristes ... oras* in the next line (Carrio does not explicitly quote from his *vetus codex*). In addition to *tristes*, the following have been proposed: *placidas* (Burman), *placitas* (Heinsius), *saevas* (Schenkl), *miseras* (Baehrens), *diras* (Löhbach, 1872:10), *moestas* (Cod.Reg.), *summa* (Leo, 1897:968 = 1960:239). Courtney prefers *diras* because the 'homeoarchon' in *diras dimiserat* might explain the loss; Löhbach compares 7.206 *illum ego, qui diris cinis ultimus haeserit arvis*, where *diris* apparently occupies the same position in the verse as here, and also refers to the last word. In 214 at the same metric position we find *celsa*, specifying *puppe* (*celsa* being a standard attribute of *puppis* in the *Aeneid*). Interestingly Poortvliet 1995 along similar lines came to proposing *alta.*

dimiserat 'to give up the possession of, to let go' (OLD 8); cf. Caes. *Gal.* 5.18.5 *ut hostes ... ripasque ... dimitterent*, Phaed. 5.10.6 *cariosis dentibus praedam dimisit rictus.*

ancora Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.169 tells us that '*hoc nomen in Graeco adspirationem non habeat, in Latino aspiratur*' (= *anchora*).

terras if the lacuna is substituted by an attribute of *terras*, the

result is a 'golden' (end of the) line. On (partial) golden lines, as well as for traces of a deliberate use of this pattern, see 79 n. At the present site the line would round off a complete section, with a highly transparent internal structure (cf. introduction).

B. *73–176: Along the coasts of Asia*

As Bacchus and Hercules are coming into focus we may consider these figures as forerunners of the Argonauts in invading the East and returning victoriously (cf. 1.563ff.: *tendite in astra viri; sic meus Liber*. . .). Allusions to the Roman campaigns in Armenia or Vespasian's very own conquest of Palestine may also be involved. The fact that they pass by *Acherusidos oras* (v. 73), in effect an entrance to the Underworld, and the apparition of the shade Sthenelus may suggest that, once past the familiar Greek οἰκουμένη, we are in a World Beyond (cf. Shey 138, and Introduction). The loss of Idmon and Tiphys, in their confrontation with the powers of Death, followed by coasts of danger, leads up to a climax in Colchis. The story's backbone comes from ARh 2.899–1261.

Subdivision is as follows:

b1. 73–81 Skirting a coast reminiscent of Bacchus
b2. 82–100 Sthenelus episode
b3. 101–112 Skirting Paphlagonia
b4. 113–139 Amazonia
b5. 140–153 Other Pontic peoples (7 for the Chalybes)
b6. 154–176 Heracles in action

In this way in B+C the numbers of verses are as (b1 + b2) = 28 – 12 – 27 – (7 + 7) – 23 – 17 – 23, which looks remarkably like an attempt at symmetry.

b.1. *73–81: Skirting a coast reminiscent of Bacchus*

VF follows closely ARh's narrative (2.899–910); however, the emphasis is on Bacchus's going beyond the *claustra* (*i.e.*, to India), which can be considered a prelude to the Argonauts breaking the barrier which the sea represented formerly (Shelton 261). Shreeves 94 adds that cleansing the bloody *thyrsus* (76) is also VF's own.

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73. Inde premente noto tristes Acherusidos oras
74. praeterit et festa vulgatam nocte Lyaei
75. Callirhoen. nec vana fides: his Bacchus in undis
76. abluit eoo rorantes sanguine thyrsos.

73 premente noto 'while the wind was pressing hard'; cf. Sen. *Phoen.* 429f. *qualis insano ratis/ premente vento rapitur. premere* may be compared to Luc. 9.331 *quaecumque... flatum effudere prementem* (whichever (ships) were allowed (by...) 'the driving blast to pass over them' (J.D. Duff)), developed on the analogy of Luc. 7.835 *plures presserunt aera pennae. Notus* has not always strictly adhered to the notion of 'South wind': cf. the general notion in Ov. *Fast.* 5.686 *abstulerint celere improba verba noti*; however, cf. Gel. 2.22.14 *meridies autem, quoniam certo atque fixo limite est, unum meridialem ventum habet: is Latine* auster, *Graece* νότος *nominatur,* Plin. *Nat.* 18.328 *quae pars liniae fuerit a pedibus umbrae meridiem spectans haec ventum austrum dabit quem a Graeci* notum *diximus vocari.*

tristes Acherusidos oras *Acherusis* is a promontory near Heraclia in Bythynia (cf. Delage, pp. 143ff.), named after the river Acheron; cf. ARh 2.743f.

ἔνθα δὲ καὶ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ 'αχέροντος ἔασιν, /
ὅστε διὲξ ἄκρης ἀνερεύγεται εἰς ἅλα βάλλων /
ἠῴην· κοίλη δὲ φάραγξ κατάγει μιν ἄνωθεν.

The scholiast *ad* ARh 2.353 as well as Xen. *Anab.* 6.2.2 tells us that here a crevice (*specus Acherusia,* Plin. *Nat.* 6.4) behind the cape forms the gate of the Underworld through which Hercules brought up Cerberus. Mela 1.103 cites the same story, which explains *tristes.* – For the function of *Acherusis* in the composition of the whole *Argonautica* see 73–176 as well as the Introduction.

praeterit to wit, the ship (*prora,* 71).

74 festa *festus dies* is a regular combination, *festa nox* rather a play on words used earlier in Sen. *Phaedr.* 444f. *noctibus festis facem/ attolle, curas Bacchus exoneret graves.* Such a night of revelling is described by Claudian 8 (*IV cos. Hon.*). 606ff. The source is ARh 2.908 ᾧ ἐν ἀμειδήτους ἁγίας ηὐλίζετο νύκτας.

vulgatam 'well-known' (OLD 2); cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.276f. *o vulgatos... pastoris amores/ Daphnidis Idaei,* Luc. 2.634f. *quas est volgata per urbes/ post me Roma ducem.* In view of my proposal to print *Callirhoen* (75 n.) an alteration of the Mss.' *vulgatum* to *vulgatam* would be necessary.

Lyaei except for Pindar, frg. 218 Snell, *Lyaeus* is essentially a Hellenistic name for Bacchus, first occurring in Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* 6.154), a contemporary of ARh, who does not use the word; Servius *ad Aen.* 4.58 explains *dictus Lyaeos ἀπὸ τοῦ λύειν, quod nimio vino membra solvantur*; cf. Pease *ad Aen.* 4.58, Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 4.11, a supplement to his commentary *ad Fast.* 1.395.

75 Callirhoen according to ARh 2.904ff. there is a river Callichorus identified in Delage 155 with the ancient Oxinas (cf. Scholiast *ad* ARh 2.904). Because the Scholiast says that Callimachus mentioned the same river (*frg.* 600 Pf.), it may concern a name only for poetic purposes. Therefore it should be considered whether VF would not have felt free to use for this river '*Callichorus*' the name *Callirhoe* occurring in the Mss. The Mss.' *Callirhoe* is a meaningful name and it would not easily have been substituted for *Callichoron* by a scribe. *Callirhoe* – possibly after Hom. *Od.* 17.205f. ἐπὶ κρήνην ἀφίκοντο/ τυκτὴν καλλίροον – is a name known from several inscriptions (TLL Onom. 2.93.70ff.), as well as from Ovid (the daughter of Achelous in *Met.* 9, *Rem.*, *Ib.*), Calp. Siculus, Pers. (once each); it has been used for various nymphs haunting rivers and fountains (Kroll, RE 10.1668), *e.g.* Hes. *Theog.* 288, 351. In addition it is found in Pliny, *etc.*, for springs in Athens and Jerusalem.

All editors from 1498 onward have preferred *Callichoron* on rational grounds, correcting the text after ARh's example. Yet, beyond an Argonautic context, the Callichorus only occurs in Ps.Scylax 90, Plin. *Nat.* 6.4 and in Amm. Marc. 22.8.23, probably all three depending on ARh. In this respect this case differs from the corruptions of *Crobialus, Inopus, Cromna, Cytoron* (see *ad* 102ff.) all of which are used for distinct geographical sites in several authors (Homer, Strabo, Vergil) and cannot be considered poetic names.

For **V** and **L**'s *Callirhoan* only a small correction is necessary from the ending *-an* to *-en*, where *-an* may possibly have been based on contamination with the theoretical ending *-rhoam*. **C**'s reading *Callirhoen* (explicitly from the *vet.cod.*) may be the better one (untampered with by Carrio himself because he professes to prefer *Callichoron*).

It would be naive to suppose a subconscious change to a similar name. Rather this may be an attempt at 'improving upon the model', finding a still more poetic name while avoiding the literal complexity that the dances are not *in* but *along* the river. The use of Πληιόνη for the Pleiades in 2.67 similarly substitutes a virtually new Greek name (used once by Pindar, according to Poortvliet *ad loc.*) for an established

one. Euryale (Hes. *Theog.* 276), and Menippe (*ibid.* 260) are names used by VF (lines 5.612, 6.377, respectively), and may, together with Callirhoe (*Theog.* 288), have been found in Hesiodus, lines 260–288.

The use of such names of rivers may in certain cases introduce a host of allusions and would not be without these in Vergil (cf. Wijsman 316ff.). In the present case in VF I cannot find any. – Lüthje refers to "Callichorus mit seinem roten Mündungswasser". Though the origin of the inference is not clear to me, it would be a rational ground for the *aetion* in 76.

nec vana fides from *Aen.* 4.12 *credo equidem (nec vana fides) genus esse deorum*; Schenkl quotes Sil. 14.350f. *non illum* (sc. Archimedes) *mundi numerasse capacis harenas/ vana fides.* Since VF uses only the quoted words, without *credo* (the contents of which may probably be distilled from *vulgatam*), and without an explanatory infinitive construction, a colon before *his Bacchus in undis* is necessary to create contents for *fides.* Overall it is an example of things said too briefly.

his Bacchus in undis with two conjectures of Pius for *hic Bacchus ut undis* (Mss.), of which *ut* would not make good Latin; *hic,* however, can be retained. A parallel in words is Prudent. *Psych.* 99ff. *Pudicitia gladium Iordanis in undis/ abluit infectum, sanies cui rore rubenti/ haeserat,* which would, however, be the only evidence for influence of VF on the author (Manitius 253). – In Elfrieda Frank's list of correspondences between books 1 and 5, 2 and 6, etc., 5.75–78 about Bacchus are compared to 1.566–67. Shey criticizes details of the list, but considers the similarity between books 1 and 5 'indeed striking'. In details, however, such correspondences may concern other books as well; and in the present case also in 3.538–540 Bacchus's eastern triumph is praised.

76 eoo cf. ARh 2.906 Ἰνδῶν ἡνίκα φῦλα λιπών . . . For ARh being the key to the interpretation of VF see 7 n. For 'eastern' wars cf. VF 3.538ff. *vidisti . . . Bacchus/ cum domitas acies et eoi fercula regni/ duceret ac rursus thiasos et sacra moventem.* Diod.Sic. 4.3.1 allows Bacchus a triumphal procession afterwards: καταγαγεῖν δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ἁπάντων θρίαμβον ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος Ἰνδικοῦ. The triumph is referred to in 3.539 *eoi fercula regni,* where *fercula* refers to the exposition of the spoils in the procession. In VF *eous* appears just as frequent with long *-e,* as here, as with short; cf. Poortvliet *ad* 2.72ff., Korn *ad* 4.96. The anceps nature of *e-* has its roots in the Greek *-η* or *-ε* in *(h)eos* (different in Ionic or Attic dialects).

rorantes sanguine cf. 6.259 *rorat procul ultima cuspis* (*sc. sanguine*),

Aen. 11.8 *aptat rorantis sanguine cristas,* 8.645, Stat. *Theb.* 3.536 *cernis inexperto rorantes sanguine ventos?* Though Bacchus's ivy-clad staff (Stat. *Ach.* 1.714 *imbelles thyrsos*) is not often as bad as *rorans sanguine,* it is not simply a peaceful wand: cf. *Anth. Pal.* 16.185 θύρσῳ δεινός, Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.8 *parce Liber gravi metuende thyrso,* Ov. *Ars* 1.189f. *quantus tum, Bacche, fuisti,/ cum timuit thyrsos India victa tuos?,* Ov. *Met.* 11.27f. (the Maenads killing Orpheus) *vatemque petunt et fronde virentes/ coniciunt thyrsos non haec in munera factos,* Stat. *Theb.* 7.685 *te fractis planxerunt Ismara thyrsis,* 8.237f. *thyrso populatus (sc. est) Hydaspen Eoasque domus, Ach.* 1.617f. *thyrsumque virentem/ armat, Theb.* 12.787f. *thyrso bellante subactus/... Ganges.* Seneca has a different concept in *Herc.F.* 904 *tectam virente cuspidem thyrso gerens!,* and refers to the thyrsus as an ivy-clad spear again in *Phaed.* 753ff. *et tu, thyrsigera Liber ab India, ... tigres pampinea cuspide territans.*

*

77. illum post acies rubrique novissima claustra
78. aequoris hic resides thiasos, hic aera moventem
79. udaque pampinea nectentem cornua vitta
80. nunc etiam meministis, aquae, Boeotia qualem
81. Thyias et infelix cuperet vidisse Cithaeron.

77 illum cf. 53 for a verse beginning with a disyllabic word filling a trochee. Here it carries a strong emphasis: 'that God'.

post acies (et) claustra Kleywegt (1986b) 2474: "*post claustra* muss zeitliche Bedeutung haben (*post claustra reserata*)"; cf. *post pocula* 1.139 with Langen's list of parallels.

rubrique (aequoris) figuring already in Pind. *Pyth.* 251/447 ἔν τ' Ὠκεανοῦ πελάγεσσι μίγεν πόντῳ τ' ἐρυθρῷ. Wiedemann *ad* Herod. 2.8 explains the name Red Sea as of Egyptian origin, by the contrast between Egypt proper ('Black Land') and the dry country between the Nile and the Red Sea (the 'Red Land'), corresponding to its 'Red Sea'. He denies that the colour might be derived from red mountains, because these do not encroach upon the blue sea. However, *e.g.* in the Gulf of Aqaba towards sunset, my observation is that the surrounding mountains reflect their light in such a way as to colour the sea. *Mare rubrum* probably stands for 'Seas around Arabia', or even *Indian* Ocean (cf. Curt. 3.2.9 *Indos ceterosque rubri maris incolas,* 8.9.4ff. *Indus, ... Ganges ..., uterque rubro mari accipitur*), and is generally mentioned when 'eastern' wars are described; cf. *Aen.* 8.686 *victor*

ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro (Antonius), Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.30ff. *et iuvenum recens/ examen Eois timendum/ partibus Oceanoque rubro*, Sen. *Her.F.* 903f. *adsit Lycurgi domitor et rubri maris,/ tectam virente cuspidem thyrso gerens*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.566 with Smolenaars. Seneca paints the sea's colour in vivid terms in *Thy.* 371ff. *qui rubri vada litoris/ et gemmis mare lucidis/ late sanguineum tenent.* See also *claustra* n. (below).

novissima cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.13.27f. *dum me terrarum pars paene novissima, Pontus/... habet.*

claustra 'limits'; cf. 1.556f. *pateant.../ cunctaque claustra maris*, Sen. *Med.* 342 *claustra profundi.* The present use may be compared to Luc. 10.313 *regni claustra Philae*, where more of the literal value has been preserved. Differently in *Aen.* 3.411 *angusti rarescent claustra Pelori* ('shores'). The similarity between *(post) rubrique novissima claustra/ aequoris* and Stat. *Theb.* 4.387 is striking: *claustra novissima rubrae/ Tethyos... (perfuris).* The whole scene in Statius refers to Bacchus, to the triumph, to *Eoas domos*, but is considerably more extended. The somewhat clumsy *brevitas* in the slightly zeugmatic *post acies (rubri)que... claustra* may be typical of VF, the smoother text in Statius rather of the emulating author, which may suggest a text-internal argument for the priority of Valerius Flaccus, if this were necessary after the list of the evidence in Smolenaars XVII.[14] – For another meaning of *claustra* see 124 n.

78 resides thiasos a *thiasus* refers to an orgiastic dance or to the group of dancers. *reses* can mean 'inactive', so *resides* has been explained as *intermissos* (J.A. Wagner in Lemaire), the 'ajourned' dances. (In 3.540 *ac rursus thiasos et sacra moventem* it is said that Bacchus *resumes* leading the dance). I prefer, however, the interpretation of *reses* as *reses bellorum*, as in Stat. *Theb.* 7.284f. *armastis alumnos/ bellorum resides* (the 'Helicon people' associated with poetry), or *ibid.* 7.83 *resides in proelia Graios*; with reference to Bacchus's train Ov. *Met.* 3.534 *quos non bellicus ensis,/ non tuba terruerit.*

aera occur wherever Cybele or Bacchus are mentioned: *e.g.* Lucr. 2.637 *pulsarent aeribus aera* ('brass on brass'), Ov. *Met.* 3.532ff. *Pentheus ait: aerane tantum/ aere repulsa valent.../... ut...*, 4.30 *concava aera sonant.*

[14] Much more convincing than the 'classical' argument in Summers 11. Statius frequently refers to the Argonauts, which often involves scenes dealt with by ARh as well: 'it is natural to suppose that they passed from him to Valerius and thence to Statius rather than conversely'.

moventem 'bringing into movement', with *thiasos* 'stirring his dancing flock', with *aera* 'shaking the cymbals'.

79 A perfect golden line. In the broadest sense, but keeping to Dryden's definition 'two Substantives and two Adjectives with a Verb betwixt them to keep the peace' (allowing for the presence of small particles and adverbs, etc.), we can include 'partial' golden lines, forming a golden sequence following some introductory words. In the present book golden lines in the broad sense can be found at 5, 72, 79, 179, 186, 209, 221, 237, 274, 381, 632. Verses 470 and 184 come close. The incidence of golden lines is lower than for example in Ovid.

In tabular form:

Books	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Types									
abvAB	7	2	4	6	8	6	4	5	42
abvBA		3	2	2	3	3	3	2	18
Total									60

Of these only 11 are 'perfect' golden lines, consisting of five words only. In all the frequency is 1 in every 93 lines.

This is still considerably higher than in the *Aeneid*:

books	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
number	4	0	4	3	4	2	5	3	4	3	2	4
total												38

that is 1/260 lines.

In Lucan[15] golden lines are much more frequent: 1 in every 55, distributed over the books as follows:

Books	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
number	35	22	20	10	11	19	6	9	9	6
Total:	147									

It is as if the author changed his preference in the course of composing the Pharsalia.

Apparently the neoteric artifice (31/541, *i.e.* 1/14, in the *Ciris*), later again favoured by, *e.g.*, Claudian, did not appeal to Valerius Flaccus, and neither did it to Statius. The latter has 94 occurrences, as appears from the Table:

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15 Let me warn against Håkanson's figure for the number of verses in the *Pharsalia*, which I set at 8060. For VF the number I used is 5593.

Books	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
number	9	14	2	11	4	6	10	10	8	8	6	6

The overall frequency is 1:103.

Despite the low frequency Statius seems at times to apply the Golden Line concept deliberately, in view of the occurrence in marked verses opening scenes (10.326), or concluding scenes (2.31, 8.258); cf. Smolenaars 37.

As to Silius:

Books	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
number	12	12	13	11	8	7	13	8	5	7	6	7	7	11	14	5	10	
total																		156

that is, 1/78.

In VF the location of a Golden Line is significant in the following scenes: beginning a scene in 2.6, ending a scene with a double Golden Line in 7.24, 25, as well as possibly, depending on conjecture, in 5.72 (cf. 72 n.).

udaque . . . cornua *udus* for: 'soaked with wine, drunken' (Lemaire: *vino leviter dispersa*); cf. Mart. 5.84.4f. *raptus e popina/. . . udus aleator*, 12.70.4ff. *udorum* (conj.) *tetricus censor*. In *udus* there may be notions of *uvidus* at play; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.39f. *sicci mane die, . . . uvidi/ cum sol oceano subest*, 2.19.18 *tu (Bacchus) separatis uvidus in iugis*. Yet in Statius the real washing (VF 5.76 *abluit*) plays a role: *Theb.* 9.434ff. *ego . . . amnis/ qui molle thyrsos Baccheaque cornua puro/ fonte lavare feror*. The passage could possibly be explained as a misunderstanding by VF who took it too literally.[16] – For *cornua* see below.

pampinea . . . vitta cf. Serv. *ad G.* 2.5 *pampineo pro pampionoso, ut nemus frondeum pro frondosum*, Sen. *Oed.* 430 *Silenus . . ./. . . turgida pampineis redimitus tempora sertis*, Tac. *Ann.* 11.4.2 *pampineam coronam albentibus foliis visam*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.634ff. *ast ego pampineis diffundere brachia thyrsis/. . . iam scio*; cf. Poortvliet *ad* 2.268f. For *pampineus* see below.

nectentem *nectere* in OLD 4a: 'to wreathe with', cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.2.23 *necte comam myrto*, *Ep.* 19.134 *nondum nexis angue Medusa comis*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.170 *nectere fronde comas*, *Ach.* 1.9f. *ac fronde secunda/ necte comas*.

cornua Bacchus's horns were already mentioned at 1.726 (Thyoneus = Bacchus). The concept is classical: Soph. *frg.* 959

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16 Would it be possible to compare the *udus/uvidus* case with *gravidus* (22) in the sense of *gravatus*, or *agit* (15) in the sense of *agitat*?

Radt = 959 Pearson (with Pearson's note) ὁ βούκερως Ἴακχος, Eur. *Bacch.* 100 ταυρόκερων θεόν. In *de Is. et Os.* 35 (= 364 E), Plutarch mentions as one of his names in Argos βουγενής. More in Langen *ad* 1.726, Nisbet/Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.29, Bömer *ad* Ovid. *Fast.* 3.499, Smolenaars 78.

80 aquae the same as *his undis* (75), the *Callichoros* (75).

81 Thyias must refer to Pentheus's mother Agaue, the Boeotian queen of Thebe who killed her son in the way described in Eur. *Bacch.*, or Ov. *Met.* 3.511–733. – The words Thyias and Cithaeron also occur in *Aen.* 4.300ff. *(Dido) bacchatur, qualis . . . excita Thyias, ubi . . . nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.*

cuperet vidisse *cupere* with perfect infinitive is poetic (TLL 4.1433.7ff.), employed by Ovid, Sen., Stat. *Theb.* 1.86 *quod cupiam vidisse nefas*, *Ach.* 1.755 *vel talis vidisse cupit*, Mart., Claud.

infelix . . . vidisse Cithaeron which significantly alters the words of Agaue, Eur. *Bacch.* 1384ff.

ἔλθοιμι δ' ὅπου
μήτε Κιθαιρὼν <ἐμ' ἴδοι> μιαρὸς
μήτε Κιθαιρῶν' ὄσσοισιν ἐγώ
μήτε ὅθ' θύρσου μνῆμ' ἀνάκειται.

(where she, overcome by distress, expresses her wish to be out of view of Cithaeron), in that it mentions what Cithaeron would have preferred to see: Bacchus in his triumphal guise, rather than as the avenger of lack of respect for him.

b.2. *82–100. Sthenelus episode*

ARh (2.911–929) is closely followed. Sthenelus comes up to behold the *gloria* of the first seafarers (Lüthje 190). Already they have attained a worldwide renown; now they are giving names to lands they pass (99/100). Sthenelus, as a companion of Hercules, brings the latter nearer to the scene he left at 4.81, and in which he will reappear (after another opportunity to be mentioned) in 5.156. Sthenelus dies in a battle with Amazons, who in this way can be mentioned in passing.

The whole scene recalls Sen. *Tro.* 181ff., because of a shade being allowed to leave the Underworld, flashing forward fully armed, from near the sea. Exact counterparts in *Troades* and *Argonautica* are *emicuit* (92), *qualem* (89):

178 *tum . . . hiatus Erebi . . . iter* (179) . . . *praebet* (180),
181 *emicuit umbra Thessalici ducis (= Achilles)*

182 *Threicia qualis arma proludens tuis*
183 *iam, Troia, fatis stravit*...
197 *haec fatus alta voce dimisit diem*
198 *repetensque Ditem, mersus ingentem specum*
199 *coeunte terra iunxit. immoti iacent*
200 *tranquilla pelagi.*

The same motif of a shade coming up temporarily is also used by Ov. *Met.* 13.441ff. (*exit humo late rupta similisque minanti*), where the shade of Achilles comes to demand the death of Polyxena when the Greek navy is making a landfall, as well as by Statius in *Theb.* 11.420ff., where *Ogygios monstra ad gentilia manes/ Tartareus rector porta iubet ire reclusa* (to look at the duel).

*

82. Fama per extremos quin iam volat improba manes
83. interea et magnis natorum laudibus implet
84. addita iamque fretis repetens freta iamque patentes
85. Cyaneas. ardent avidos attollere vultus
86. quos pietas vel tangit adhuc quos aemula virtus.

82 fama... volat cf. *fama volat Aen.* 3.121, 7.392, 8.554, and 4.184 *nocte volat (sc. Fama).*

extremos probably referring to their dwelling in Hades, equivalent to the *manes* that Vergil calls *profundi* (*G.* 1.243), Petronius *inferni* (120.93), Silius *imi* (2.530, 3.484).

quin For its sense of 'even' (without *etiam*, to be read with *extremos*) cf. Sz. 677 "blosses *quin* ist haupsächtlich dichterisch"; compare e.g. in Hor. *S.* 1.4.30ff. or Prop. 2.10.15 *India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho.*

improba *improbus* as 'immoderate' would be supported in VF by 1.510 *improba*... / *divitis arva plagae* (cf. 2.630), 6.702 *improba barbaricae procurrunt tegmina plantae.*

83 natorum the children of parents, *manes*, in the Underworld.

implet sc. *extremos manes*; for *magnis... laudibus implet* cf. VF 2.126 *vocibus implet*, 4.81 *alacrem laetis hortatibus implet*, Verg. *G.* 4.515, *Aen.* 9.480 *questibus*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.35 *hortatibus*, 3.51 *questibus*, 4.382 *clamoribus.*

84 iamque fretis repetens freta iamque note the chiasmic composition.

repetens *repetere* as 'to call to mind' does not quite fit; 'to begin

from' (as in Verg. *G.* 4.285f. *altius omnem/ expediam prima repetens origine famam*) could do, or simply 'to repeat'; cf. Lucr. 4.791 *et repetunt... gestum,* Hor. *Ars* 365 *haec deciens repetita placebit.* Baehrens, Langen, and Mozley, give (unnecessarily) *referens* (Baehrens, as well as Schrader in Ms., *apud* W.V. Clausen, Schraderiana, *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955) 49–52).

85 ardent attollere For *ardere* with infinitive cf. VF 6.45f. *thalamos ascendere.../ arserit* , *Aen.* 4.281 *ardet abire fuga,* Ov. *Met.* 5.166 *et ruere ardet utroque.*

avidos vultus in a note *ad* VF 1.109, Langen brings together the cases of enallage where VF endows an object with an attitude of its owner. Other examples in the present book are: 115 *vagus error,* 141 *pervigil labor,* 148 *deside mitra.*

85/86 ... vultus/... virtus alliteration of terminal words in subsequent verses; some examples (in other books) in Contino 89.

86 pietas For an example of *pietas* of a parent towards a child cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.605 (Oedipus).

tangit for *tangere* of feelings cf. Lucr. 2.651 *neque tangitur ira,* Ov. *Met.* 8.279 *tangit et ira deos,* Luc. 10.443 *tangunt animos iraeque metusque*; same sense in VF 8.43 *socios ea gloria tangit.*

aemula virtus 'competitive spirit'; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16.5 *aemula nec virtus Capuae,* Luc. 1.120 *stimulos dedit aemula virtus,* Sil. 1.510 *ni displicet aemula virtus,* Claud. 25(*B.Gild*).349f. *at iuvenem* (Honorius) *stimulis immanibus aemula virtus/ exacuit.* Eisenhut (*Virtus romana,* München, 1973) 163 explains that *virtus* in general in Flavian epic means 'valour' rather than 'virtue'. In the present infernal connection *virtus* figures also in VF 1.850; there, however, the reward for *alma virtus* on earth can only have ethical overtones and more than just 'courage'.

*

87. fata immota manent; unum, qui litore in illo
88. conditus, ad carae mittunt spectacula turbae.
89. it Sthenelus. qualem Mavortia vidit Amazon
90. cumque suis comitem Alcides ut condidit armis,
91. talis ab aequorei consurgens aggere busti
92. emicuit. fulsere undae, sol magnus ut orbem
93. tolleret aut nubem quateret polus.

87 fata immota manent The shades, longing for the spectacle because of parental feelings or impressed by the whole enterprise,

are apparently not allowed to go; accordingly one is sent to represent them. We do not get a glimpse of the Tartarean books of law; in Statius (see 82–100 n.), the kindred shades are permitted to behold the duel. – For the words cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.257 *manent immota tuorum/ fata tibi* (Jupiter to Venus), *G.* 2.294 *(Aesculus) immota manet, Aen.* 4.449, 7.314, 3.447 *illa (sc. carmina) manent immota locis*, VF 1.532f. *cuncta . . ./ fixa manent*, 5.21 *nec debita fata movebant. manere* 'to remain', as here, is different from *manere* 'to wait for', as in *Aen.* 10.438 *illos sua fata manent*, or VF 4.120f. *meam prolem/ tristia fata manent.*

88 carae cf. 36 n.

spectacula in addition to the interpretation *ad spectandam turbam* (Burman), there is a strong overtone of: 'for seeing the grand display'; cf. shades coming *ad meritae spectacula poenae* VF. 4.259.

(in litore . . .) conditus as a motif might be expected to be fairly frequent in a nation of seafarers. Many a Greek epigram honours someone anonymous, washed up by the waves, or mentions an empty tomb for some person lost at sea. The present situation, however, concerns a casualty during a raid from the sea.

turbae on *turba* for the Argonauts cf. 1.101 *turba ducum*, 3.272 *sumus en Minyae, sumus hospita turba*!

89 it at the beginning of a verse and a sentence is not unusual in poetry, often with Vergilian *clamor* or *gemitus*. Followed by a person's name it does not occur in the Augustan poets, in Lucan, or elsewhere in VF, although the expression is prepared by *it comes* (*Aen.* 6.159, 448, Luc. 6.828). A parallel is Stat. *Theb.* 6.346 *it Chromis Hippodamusque*; with *ibat* frequent parallels.

Sthenelus see 82–100.

qualem . . . vidit is repeated fairly soon after 80/81 *qualem . . . vidisse cuperet*; cf. ARh 2.918f. σκοπιάζετο νῆα/ τοῖος ἐών, οἷος πόλεμονδ' ἴεν. For the comparison cf. 92 *talis emicuit.*

Mavortia the Amazons were daughters of Mars (ARh 2.990, VF 4.602 *exorta Gradivo*). *Mavortia* figures already in Vergil: *tellus G.* 4.462, *terra Aen.* 3.13, *moenia* 1.276f., *Romulus* 6.777f., *Haemon* 9.685; as well as, *e.g.* in Man. 1.768 *virgo* (= Penthesileia). In addition to VF 2.208 (*coniunx*), *Mavortia* occurs once again in 5.612. The word *martia* (*e.g. Aen.* 11.661 *Martia (Penthesileia)*) would appear to be completely synonymous; it is found in 1.319 (*tuba*), 3.53 (*cassis*), 3.635 (*tigris*), 5.640 (*templa*), 6.66 (*acies*). On the 'Island of Ares', mentioned by ARh, but passed over by VF, a temple was dedicated to him, ARh 2.385.

Amazon the Amazons were part of the Land Beyond; since these very regions have now come within reach of Roman power, the poet wisely passes them over, but cannot help at least to *mention* them, though, when the Greeks had become more familiar with the Euxenic regions, the Amazons had already had to move up to the Caucasus (Plin. *Nat.* 6.35; many other references in Heeren 1899). In the same way it is difficult not to think of Butler's Erewhon for a present-day visitor driving up to Mt. Cook. For an account of the Amazon Myth see W.B. Tyrrell *Amazons, A study in Athenian mythmaking*, Baltimore, 1984. – With regard to the verses 123ff. below and the important question of their relation to horses and axes, in Bothmer (1957) black-figured vases dating from the middle of the 6th century already portray Amazons on horseback as well as in chariots. The painter Mikon produced the murals in the Theseion and the Stoa Poikile (Scholiast *ad* Aristoph. *Lys.* 678f.), which show them on horseback: τάς 'Αμαζόνας σκόπει/ ἃς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν *Lys. l.c.*). The same is referred to in Lysias 2.4 'Αμαζόνες γὰρ Ἄρεως μὲν το παλαιὸν πρῶται δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππους ἀναβᾶσας, ... Mikon's Amazonomachia features them for the first time fighting with the battle-ax (Toepffer, RE 1.1767ff.). In Toepffer several examples of *gynocratia* in northern Anatolia are mentioned, which may lend an ethnologic background to the idea of a female-dominated society.

90 comitem = Sthenelum; cf. *Aen.* 10.320f. *Melampus,/ Alcidae comes,* 10.779 *Herculis Antoren comitem.*

Alcides the use of the metrically more convenient *Alcides* for Hercules has been extant since Callimachus *Hymn.* 3 (*Dian.*) 145 ('Αλκείδης). The word may refer to his 'stepfather' Amphitryon, husband of his mother Alcmene (in the same way as Helena is called *Tyndaris*); Amphitryon is the son of Alcaeus. In that sense *Alcides* can be called a 'papponymicum' (A.S. Hollis, *Ovid, Metamorphoses, book VIII, ad* 627). Alternatively the word may refer to his maternal grandmother Anaxo, daughter of the same Alcaeus; Amphitryon had married his niece. In any case Hercules was 'born in the family' of Alcaeus (the genealogy is taken from Apollod. 2.4.5). Popular – in this case correct – etymology may have considered a relationship with Greek ἀλκή, very appropiate to Hercules (Coleman ad Verg. *Ecl.* 7.61). Apollod. 2.4.12 tells us that at first Hercules bore the name Alcides; cf. Schol. *ad* Pindar. *Olymp.* 6.115.

ut *qualem vidit Amazon . . . que ut comitem Alcides condidit* offers an unusual coordination of *qualis* and *ut* ('how').

91 aequoreus according to TLL 1.1027.59ff. normally means 'relating to the sea, situated in the sea'; for 'near the coast' cf. Mart. 10.58.1 *Anxuris aequorei.*

aggere busti cf. Catul. 64.363 *teres excelso coacervatum aggere bustum, Aen.* 7.6 *aggere tumuli, Aen.* 5.44, *Aen.* 11.850 *terreno ex aggere bustum,* Luc. 2.300 *constructique aggere busti.*

92 (talis . . ./) emicuit Sthenelus comes up as if only recently deceased, quite fresh, clad in armour (based upon ARh 2.920 ἐπελάμπετο πήληξ); in the simile the waves are sparkling in reflection of the sheen of the weapons as if the sun were shining, or as if lightning had flared. These are *cosmic* effects; straightaway Mopsus and Orpheus set themselves to conjuring these. – *talis* as the first word of a line is predicative to the subject of the verb that is the first word of the following line, a phenomenon which does not recur in the present book (Contino 71).

fulsere Shining armour figures in other descriptions (not the basis for the present one), *e.g. Aen.* 10.270ff. (based on Hom. *Il.* 5.4ff.), Stat. *Theb.* 7.694f., Sil. 5.238f. (*fulgent*); cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.455ff., *Aen.* 9.733, 12.167, Sil. 5.307f., 7.592ff., 11.514f., 17.398.

ut For *ut* meaning *ut si, velut si* (K/S 675) cf. Lucr. 6.1232 *implicitum morbo, morti damnatus ut esset, deficiens . . . iacebat.* For *velut* as the equivalent of *velut si* cf. Tib. 1.6.25 *velut gemmas eius signumve probarem.*

93 tolleret 'as when a big sun globe lifts its disc'. For the recherché play of 'the Sun *and* its disc (= the Sun) see 109 footnote.

quateret ('shook violently'): cf. *Aen.* 7.143 *(Juppiter) ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem.*

polus the meaning comes very close to 'the sky', more or less equivalent to *Juppiter Tonans,* as a person actively involved in beating upon the clouds and bringing about *lightning.* This does not become explicit, but it is the lightning that the sparkling waves are compared with. *Polus* is once personified, in Hyg. *Fab.* praef.3 *ex Aethere et Terra: . . .; et Titanes, . . . Hyperion et Polus.*

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93. atque ea vixdum
94. visa viris atra nox protinus abstulit umbra.

95. ille dolens altum repetit chaos. omina Mopsus
96. dum stupet, in prima tumulum procul aspicit acta
97. obnubensque caput cineri dat vina vocato.

93/94 'But those things, barely seen by the men, Night carried away in black shadow'.

93 vixdum On the alliteration in *vixdum/ visa viris* cf. 21 n. According to Korn *ad* 4.166b *vixdum* does not become more frequent before Flavian epic.

94 umbra OLD 6, 'the darkness of night', "Finsternis" (Nováková 75). The author is possibly in full emulation of *Aen.* 2.360 *urbis iter nox atra cava circumvolat umbra, Aen.* 2.250f. *et ruit Oceano nox/ involvens umbra magna terramque polumque.*

95 altum . . . chaos For *Chaos* meaning Underworld cf. *Aen.* 6.265 *et Chaos, et Phlegeton, loca nocte tacentia late.* The combination not elsewhere (TLL 3.991.29ff.), nor is VF 7.401f. *profundum/ per chaos.*

96 in prima . . . acta ('cape'). Partitive *primus* as, *e.g.*, 5.117 *prima . . . ad litora.* Stroh (1905) cites the verse as an example of 'contamination' of two Vergilian verses: *Aen.* 1.495 *dum stupet, . . ., Aen.* 5.613 *procul in sola . . . acta.*

97 obnubens caput (cf. TLL 9.2.130.49). On the rite Langen cites *Aen.* 3.405 *purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,* Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.755: *incincti rite Gabino, id est togae parte caput velati. obnubere* is an infrequently occurring verb: cf. VF 2.254 *obnubitque caput,* 7.584 *obnubitque virum, Aen.* 11.77 *comas obnubit amictu,* Stat. *Theb.* 6.196 *obnubit tenuia ora comis,* Sil. 11.257f. *obnubitur atra/ veste caput.*

cineri . . . vocato cf. *Aen.* 3.303 *libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat/ Hectoreum ad tumulum,* 4.34 *id cinerem Sychaei aut manes credis curare sepultos?* with Pease's note; the libation occurs at the tomb of Sthenelus, *cinis* having more corporeal notions than just 'shade'. The remains in the tomb are addressed, as already in Hom. *Il.* 23.220f. οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν, ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο. W. Ensslin, *RE* 6A.2136 suggests that in this ritual wine is a substitute for blood.

vina just as in Vergil only the 'poetic plural' *vina* is used, never *vinum*; the same holds for Statius.

*

98. carmina quin etiam visos placantia manes
99. Odrysius dux rite movet mixtoque sonantem
100. percutit ore lyram nomenque relinquit harenis.

98 quin etiam there now follows an intensification and elevation after the prayer and libation of Mopsus.

99 (carmina) . . . movet has a solemn ring; cf. *cantus movete, Aen.* 7.641 = 10.163 (invoking the Muses), or *Aen.* 1.262 *fatorum arcana movebo* (Jupiter speaking).

rite 'according to proper rites'; cf. *Aen.* 7.5 *exsequiis . . . rite solutis,* Ov. *Fast.* 1.610 *templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.*

Odrysius dux Orpheus, after the Odrysae or Odrusae, a people in Thrace (Plin. *Nat.* 4.40, Tac. *Ann.* 3.38). The epithet is applied in VF to Orpheus (5.439, 1.470, Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.203) and to the kingdom of Phineus (4.467). Ovid has it for Rhesus, and Tereus; Silius for Boreas. Orpheus has been sculptured as one of the Argonauts (though the poor remains had to be identified by his name on them) on the metope of Sikyon's Treasury in Delphi (M. Vojatzi, *Fruehe Argonauten-bilder*, 1982, nr.26, Taf.2), as early as 570–560 BC. – *dux*, for 'leader, king', may come (Langen) from ARh 1.34 Πιερίῃ Βιστωνίδι κοιρανέοντα ('Ορφέα . . .).

mixtoque sonantem (ore lyram) cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.30 *Lydis remixto carmine tibiis,* Stat. *Theb.* 9.820 *mixto risit Latonia fletu.*

100 percutit . . . lyram cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.5 *Orphea percussis sociantem carmina nervis, Am.* 3.12.40 *duraque percussam saxa secuta lyram,* Prop. 2.1.9 *sive lyrae carmen digitis percussit eburnis.*

nomenque relinquit harenis "*haec verba omnino intellegere non possemus si Apollonii carmen periisset*" (Langen); cf. note *ad* 7. The name for the country is *Lyra*; its etymology in ARh 2.928f. may have been *interpretatio graeca* for a pre-Greek name: ἂν δὲ καὶ 'Ορφεὺς / θῆκε λύρην· ἐκ τοῦ δὲ Λύρη πέλει ὄνομα χώρῳ. Delage 158 tells us that Lyra (only found in VF and ARh) can be identified with Psylla. – Ziegler RE 18.1.1245, *s.v. Orpheus,* compares the lyre as held by the river Meles on coins of Amastris (105 n. *Cromnae*).

b.3. *101–112. Skirting Paphlagonia (cf. ARh 2.930–954)*

Shelton 264 thinks that references to *virginity* (Diana, Sinope) are 'related to the general theme of *sexual* love which will be so important

in the latter part of the poem'; if at all, I would say *negatively* related. Rather, a main stream of the poem renders ARh's Hellenistic interest in geography, aetiology, mythology, in a way appealing to the reader in Flavian Rome; that is, more briefly (cf. Venini 1971a). For a description of a coast passed by cf. *Aen.* 3.692–708. There 16 geographical names are used in 17 lines, including one mythological story. In the present 12 lines 10 names are used. *opima Sinope* (109) stands in the same metrical position as *palmosa Selinus (Aen.* 3.705). Again one mythological story occurs. Compare also Ov. *Met.* 15.50ff., along the coast of S.Italy, and *Met.* 15.703–718, along the W.Coast of Italy.

*

101. Altius hinc ventos recipit ratis ac fugit omne
102. Crobiali latus et fatis tibi, Tiphy, negatum
103. Parthenium, ante alios Triviae qui creditur amnis
104. fidus et Inopi materna gratior unda.

101 altius hinc ventos recipit ratis The Mss. give *altius in ventos recipit ratis.* Pius and Cod.Reg. (Heinsius) have *hinc* for *in.* Sabellicus suggests *cecidit,* Maserius *recidit, rediit* has been proposed since 1767, and Burman concluded: *quidquid dicant viri docti: insolentissima manet locutio, et locum corruptionis esse puto.* Since *recipit ventos* without *in* has a few parallels (with *accipere, excipere*) in poetry (Ov. *Met.* 12.37 *accipiunt ventos a tergo mille carinae, Met.* 11.476f. *totaque malo/ carbasa deducit venientesque accipit auras,* Germ. *Arat.* 155f. *dem potius ventis excusso vela rudente/ excipiamque sinu Zephyris spirantibus auras*), Hudson-Williams (1959) preferred *hinc*; *hinc* may correspond to αὐτίκα (see below: 'and now'). Hudson-Williams defended also *altius* against *acrius* (Baehrens) by interpreting *ratis* as *vela* by synecdoche. For the bellying out of the canvas as they sail before the wind (the *higher* the sail the more wind) cf. ARh. 2.930f. αὐτίκα δ' οἴγ' ἀνέμοιο κατασπέρχοντος ἔβησαν/ νῆ' ἔπι.

Damsté 264, referring to 5.126, suggested that *altius* means 'more on open sea'. Though this seems a possibility, there is no support for it in extant Latin (TLL 1.1783.26ff.).

ratis ac Nicolay (1972), in her examination of Soubiran's theory of bucolic punctuation, found indeed several instances of 4th foot dactyls with one pyrrhic word forming the end of the dactyl, itself ending in a consonant (and, accordingly, followed by a vowel) in the *Argonautica* where she listed instances starting at 5.217. Line

101 is an example in the *first* part of book 5, as are 18, 126 (*h*), 169.

fugit the ship's 'fleeing from' the land and the river is the opposite of the movement of the land in 50.

102 Crobiali a town. The Ms.'s *Cobilli* has been changed into *Crobiali* on the basis of ARh 2.942 (Κρωβίαλος). The *Iliad* (2.851ff.) speaks of Paphlagonia sending people living around Κύτωρον, Σήσαμον, Παρθένιον ποταμόν, Κρῶμναν, Αἰγιαλόν, ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους. ARh 2.941ff. takes this up as follows: Σήσαμον αἰπεινούς τε παρεξένεοντ' Ἐρυθίνους, Κρωβίαλον, Κρῶμνάν τε καὶ ὑλήεντα Κύτωρον. . . . Κάραμβιν . . . Αἰγιαλόν.

latus unusual for what is not a mountain, a fastness, a town or site with at least two 'sides' (examples in TLL 7.2.1028); here it must mean 'seaside of'.

Tiphy the Greek vocative also in Ov. *Ep.* 6.48 *quid tibi cum patria, navita Tiphy, mea?*, *Tr.* 4.3.77, as well as VF 1.649, 8.181 (Neue/Wagener 1.445).

negatum 'denied' (sc. to see, or to visit).

103 Parthenium the Parthenius formed the boundary between Bithynia and Paphlagonia (Dörner in RE 18.2.1893f.); the river was mentioned as one of the sons of Tethys and Oceanus in Hes. *Th.* 344. The Scholiast ad ARh 2.936 cites Callisthenes as saying that Artemis took the bath fatal for Actaeon in the Parthenius. The Scholiast, however, adds: ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὸ στάσιμον τοῦ ῥεύματος καὶ ἤρεμόν φασιν οὕτω προσαγορεύεσθαι. Strabo 12.3.8 = C543 speaks of a ποταμὸς διὰ χωρίων ἀνθηρῶν φερόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου τετυχηκώς, that is to say, he derives the name of the river from the plant *Parthenium*, identified with 6 plants by André, of which present day *Chrysanthemum parthenium* may be a meadow flower. *Parthenium* was considered synonymous with *Matricaria* by Laserre 1981 (*ad* Strabo 12.3.8), identified previously with *Crysanthemum* by Fournier[17] 970. LSJ identify the name with 11 other plants, none of these, however, typical of flower fields. – The river is mentioned by Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.48f. *influit* . . . / . . . *Partheniusque rapax.*

Triviae for *Trivia* as a synonym of Diana (*e.g. Aen.* 10.537 *Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos*) cf. Bömer *ad Fast.* 1.141. The name is explained by Varro *LL* 7.16 as follows: *(Titanis) Trivia Diana est, ab eo dicta Trivia, quod in trivio ponitur fere in oppidis Graecis, vel quod in caelo*

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[17] Fournier, P., *Les quatre flores de la France*, P. Lechevalier, Paris, 1936 (^{2}1962).

tribus viis movetur, in altitudinem et latitudinem et longitudinem. The name is derived from Greek Τριοδῖτις, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 937F Τριοδῖτις ἐστιν. On the threefold aspect see further Pease *ad Aen.* 4.511 *tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae*; further data, in particular archaeological, in T. Kraus, *Hekate*, 1960, 102ff.

The motif of washing herself after hunting comes from ARh 2.937, 939 ᾧ ἔνι κούρη/ Λητωίς... ὅν δέμας... ἀναψύχει. The story of Diana's bath and Actaeon is told in Ov. *Met.* 3.138–252, as well as by Hyg. *Fab.* 181 *Diana cum in valle opacissima cui nomen est Gargaphia aestivo tempore fatigata ex assidua venatione se ad fontem cui nomen est Parthenius perlueret, etc.*

Bömer (*ad loc.*) supposes that Ovid was the first to connect the Boetian site of Gargaphie near Plataeae with the Actaeon myth. The bath of the Virgin Huntress must have been linked with whatever *Parthenius* there was; VF appears to follow ARh, Statius (*Theb.* 7.274) and Hyginus Ovid. Artemis bathing in the Parthenius is also mentioned in ARh 3.876f. (cf. Hunter's note) οἵη δὲ λιαροῖσι ἐφ' ὕδασι Παρθενίοιο... λοεσσαμένη (Λητωίς) as well as in Callim. frg. Pf. 75.25 ἔκλυζεν ποταμῷ λύματα Παρθενίῳ.

104 Inopi *Inopus* is a spring on Delos, where (*Hymn. Hom.* 3 (*Ap. Del.*) 18) Leto gave birth to Apollo and Artemis ἐπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥεέθροις. Pliny (*Nat.* 2.229) wants us to believe that 'the spring Inopus shrinks or rises in the same way and in the same season as the Nile'.

materna cf. *Aen.* 4.144 *ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo.*

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105. mox etiam Cromnae iuga pallentemque Cytoron
106. teque cita penitus condunt, Erythine, carina.
107. iamque reducebat noctem polus: alta Carambis
108. raditur et magnae pelago tremit umbra Sinopes.

105 Cromnae from Homer and ARh: cf. 102 n. Strabo (12.3.10 = C544) mentions the fusion of Sesamus, Cytoron and Cromna into the new Amastris (300 BC, Ruge, RE 11.1974).

pallentemque Cytoron Cytoron (Cytorus) is mentioned as rich in boxwood: Catul. 4.13 *Amastri, Pontica et Cytore buxifer*, Verg. *G.* 2.437 *undantem buxo... Cytorum.* Originally it was a town in the Pontis; apparently in Roman times it was only a regional name (cf. former note), especially for the mountainous ranges there: Strabo 12.3.10 τὸ

δὲ Κύτωρον ἐμπόριον ἦν ποτε Σινωπέων· ... πλείστη δὲ καὶ ἀριστη πύξος φύεται κατὰ τὴν Ἀμαστρανήν, as well as Catul. 4.11 *Cytorio iugo*, Plin. 16.71 *buxus Pyrenaeis as Cytoriis montibus plurima*, Ov. *Met.* 6.132 *Cytoriaco ... de monte*. Eustathius (12th century), citing Pausanias the Atticist (according to Erbse 170), tells us that bringing πύξον ἐς Κύτωρον is equivalent to γλαῦκα Ἀθήναζε or ἰχθὺν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Theophr. *H.P.* 3.15.5 mentions Cytoron in relation to πύξος· φύεται δ' ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις καὶ τραχέσι, καὶ γὰρ τὰ Κύτωρα τοιοῦτον, οὗ ἡ πλείστη γίνεται. Box forest is considered pale by many authors: *Ov. Met.* 4.134f. *oraque buxo/ pallidiora gerens*, 11.417f. *buxoque simillimus ora/ pallor obit.* I think once Vergil had rendered ARh 2.942 ὑλήεντα κύτωρον with *undantem buxo*, VF looked for a recherché expression one step further and chose *pallentem.*[18] – *que* (not in **V** or **L**) is not just a good reading but comes from Carrio's *vet.cod.*

106 condunt 'to put out of sight' (TLL 4.152.17); again (51 n., cf. 120), the landscape moves like a film; cf. 2.443 *urbes/ navita condebat*, 4.636 *et litora condunt; Aen.* 3.291 *aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces* with Williams, who compares Plato *Prot.* 338 A φεύγειν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῶν λόγων, ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν, and continues: "We may compare the idea of 'hiding' the land by sailing out of sight of it with the use of *condere* meaning 'to lay the day to rest', *Ecl.* 9.52, Callim. *Epigr.* 2.3, Hor. *Odes* 4.5.29", to which can be added Stat. *Theb.* 10.54. An interesting parallel is *Arg.Orph.* 460 Τισαίη δ' ἀπέκρυφθεν ἄκρη καὶ Σηπιὰς ἀκτή. See further Poortvliet *ad* VF 2.6f.

Erythine As mentioned in 102 n. Homer has Ἐρυθίνους with long -ι; cf. Strabo 12.3.10 Ἐρυθίνους δὲ λέγεσθαι φασι τοὺς νῦν Ἐρυθρίνους ἀπο τῆς χρόας· δύο δ' εἰσὶ σκόπελοι. In view of the corrections in the present section *(Crobiali, Inopi, Cromnae, Cytoron*, for the Mss.' *Cobilli, Inopia, Cromanae, Citheron)*, I feel that the author must have used not *Erythia* Mss. but **Erythine**, as a vocative to the singular of Homeric *Erythini.* The emendation has been proposed before by Pius (1519), followed, according to Giarratano, only by a few

[18] As to the use of boxwood (cf. M.C.P. Schmidt in RE 3.985), the wood is extremely dense (Theophr. *H.P.* 1.5.5 βαρὺ δὲ ἡ μὲν πύξος ... ὅτι πυκνά) and proof against decay (Theophr. *H.P.* 5.4.2 ἀσαπῆ δὲ φύσει ... πύξος, and as such choice material (Plin. *Nat.* 28.70 *in primis vero materies honorata buxo est*, Verg. *G.* 2.448 *torno rasile buxum*) for yokes of oxen, shafts for hammers, tops (*e.g. Aen.* 7.382), clarinets (*e.g.* Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.45), combs, idols, writing tablets, furniture (cf. Meiggs 279ff.), etc.

sixteenth century editions: Engentin, Strassburg 1525, Colinaeus, Paris 1532, Gryphius, Lyon 1548.

Erythia is used for the site of sunset (Herodot. 4.8), and therefore later in Antiquity located in Spain (Hübner RE 6.575.27ff., Apollod. 2.5.10 Ἐρύθεια δὲ ἦν Ὠκεανοῦ πλησιόν νῆσος, Sil. 16.194 *Erythia ad litora Gades*). Steph. Byz. *Ethn. s.v.* has only Ἐρυθῖνοι· πόλις Παφλαγονίας.

107 reducebat noctem polus cf. Verg. *G.* 1.249 *aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit*, Ov. *Met.* 3.149f. *altera lucem/ cum croceis invecta rotis Aurora reducet. polus* contains much of the idea of 'the revolving firmament', or even, in view of the personal agent in the examples, of 'Juppiter' (see 93 n.).

alta Carambis was a *promunturium* according to Plin. *Nat.* 2.245 (= 10.60). It has been mentioned previously in VF 4.599 by Phineus as the only landmark before the Iris, and described in ARh 2.360ff.; *alta* corresponds to πάντοθεν ἠλίβατος, and to τετραμμένη αἰθέρι, just as in a more accurate way does VF 4.599 *surgentem rupe Carambin.* Strabo 2.5.22 = C124 describes the Pontus as a διθάλαττος (τρόπον τινά)· κατὰ μέσον γάρ πως ἄκραι δύω προπίπτουσιν.... τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτήριον καλεῖται Κριοῦ μέτωπον (the Crimea), τὸ δὲ της Ἀσίας Κάραμβις.

108 With the initial enjambement, the hyperbaton *magnae ... Sinopes* interrupted by the descriptive *pelago*, the refined *umbra* for 'mirror image', this is a verse of Vergilean beauty.

raditur cf. *Aen.* 3.699f. *saxa Pachyni/ radimus*, 7.10 *proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae*, Luc. 8.246 *radit saxa Sami.*

tremit cf. *Aen.* 7.9f. *tremulo sub lumine ponto ... raduntur litora* (considered the model particularly in view of the combination *raditur* (former note)/ *tremit*). For similar correspondences between book 5 and *Aen.7*, see 7 n., *humum sedemque.* Compare further Sil. 14.566 *et tremula vibratur imagine pontus*, with *imago* for *umbra*, and *pontus* for *pelagus.*

umbra Nováková 124 comments: 'Wasserspiegelbild', 'silhouette'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.106f. ... *Acrocorinthos .../... alterna geminum mare protegit umbra.* On the iconic mirror image in *words* see 109 n. (*Sinopes ... sinus stat ... Sinope).* The low sun towards the evening (107) that causes the silhouette is visualized.

Sinopes Sinope was according to Strabo 12.3.11 = C545 a considerable town (ἀξιολογωτάτη τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων) on the tip of a peninsula with two protected gulfs on both sides. Strabo 12.3.12

mentions the presence of woods around used for shipbuilding, explaining ὑλήεντα Κύτωρον (102 v.), and, in an indirect way, *magnae* (108), *opima* (109). Fordyce comments *ad* Catul. 4.11: 'The whole of the south coast of the Pontus was forested and provided wood for the local industries of shipbuilding (Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.11 *Pontica pinus*, 1.35.7 *Bithyna carina*) and smelting'.

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109. Assyrios complexa sinus stat opima Sinope,
110. nympha prius blandosque Iovis quae luserat ignes
111. caelicolis immota procis; deceptus amatae
112. fraude deae nec solus Halys nec solus Apollo.

109 Assyrios The land of the Cappadocian 'Leucosyri' was called Ἀσσυρίης . . . χθονός in ARh 2.946.

complexa sinus Kleywegt (1986b:2480f.) calls *complexa* "doppeldeutig", and stresses the ambiguity of the expression, both words having both literal and figurative meaning, according to whether *Sinope* means town or *nympha* (*Sinope, nympha prius*,[19] see 110 n.; in the one sense it would apparently read as 'being embraced as to her Syrian bosom', in the other 'surrounding the Syrian bay'). The passive interpretation has a few parallels in the poetry of Lucr., Prop., but is much less straightforward than the other. – Cf. next n., *opima.*

opima 'rich' for the town; possibly 'luxurious, plump' for the nymph in view of Cic. *Brut.* 64 *qui non tam habitus corporis opimos quam gracilitates consectentur.* For the metrical position of *opima Sinope* see 101–112.

(Sinopes) . . . sinus stat . . . Sinope the anaphora in combination with the alliteration focuses on the whole picture of the mirror image, called *charming* by Langen, and compared by him to the lengthier, but also beautiful, description in Auson. *Mosella* (194f. *tremit absens/ pampinus*); cf. VF 5.108 *tremit umbra Sinopes.*

110 "*nympha prius (sc. erat) et (ea nympha) [quae] luserat ignes Iovis*".

[19] The concept of a natural object with the same function as its deity is called 'disjunctiveness' by J.G. Fitch, *Seneca's Hercules furens*, Ithaca, 1987: 298; he revitalized a term going back to an anonymus in J.P. Postgate (*Select elegies of Propertius*, London, 1895, LXIX) though it can only be a restricted case of Postgate's sense of words used from different points of view, 'verbal pleonasms' in Shackleton Bailey's (1956) term. Striking examples are Ov. *Met* 11.621 (Somnus) *excussit tandem sibi se*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.407f. (the river Ismenos) *ut lamenta procul, quamquam obstrepit ipse,. . . . accepit.* Compare also 200 n.

The coordinator *-que* is unexpected; the parataxis suggests the start of a story broad and long that turns out after all to be one of two lines only. Maybe Verg. *G.* 1.383 *variae pelagi volucres et quae Asia circum. . . . rimantur prata*, followed by an anacoluthon can be quoted as a parallel; in any case there the birds before and after *et* need not be the same individuals.

(Sinope,) nympha prius The story of Sinope is told in ARh 2.946–954:

Ἀυτίκα δ' Ἀσσυρίης ἐπέβαν χθονός, ἔνθα Σινώπην,
θυγατέρ' Ἀσωποῖο, καθίσσατο, καὶ οἱ ὄπασσεν
παρθενίην Ζεὺς αὐτος, ὑποσχεσίῃσι δολωθείς.
δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν φιλότητος ἐέλδετο· νεῦσε δ' ὅγ' αὐτῇ
δωσέμεναι, ὅ κεν ᾗσι μετὰ φρεσὶν ἰθύσειεν.
ἡ δὲ ἑ παρθενίην ᾐτήσατο κερδοσύνῃσιν.
ὡς δε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παρήπαφεν εὐνηθῆναι
ἱέμενον, ποταμόν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἅλυν· οὐδε μὲν ἀνδρῶν
τήνγε τις ἱμερτῇσιν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι δάμασσεν.

VF follows the model faithfully (compare 109 *Assyrios . . . Sinope*), but renders it at half the length; consequently, what *luserat* (110), *fraude* (112) mean can only be gauged from ARh (cf. 7 n.). Venini (1971b) speaks of VF's 'maniera quasi impressionistica'. Sinope has several traits in common with *Daphne* (Ov. *Met.* 1.452–567): Apollo as a lover and the maiden preferring virginity, but there the element of fraud is absent. Ovid reads: 478 *multi illam petiere*, 486f. *Da mihi perpetua, genitor (Peneus) carissime, dixit,/ virginitate frui*, 488 *ille quidem obsequitur*, 490 *Phoebus amat visaeque cupit conubia Daphnes.* Sinope's reluctance to make her copious forms available to the embraces of male gods was later explained by the Scholiast *ad* ARh 2.946 calling her μίαν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

The story of Sinope and Apollo has a different and more conventional sequel in Diod.Sic. 4.72.2 τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων Σινώπη μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἁρπαγεῖσα ἀπηνέχθη πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον οὗ νῦν ἐστιν ἡ ἐκείνης ὀνομασθεῖσα πόλις Σινώπη· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γενόμενος υἱὸς Σύρος ἐβασίλευσε τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Σύρων ὀνομασθέντων.

blandos . . . ignes this combination only in VF (2.354, 4.353) and in Claud. *Carm. min.* 29.48 *et blando praecordia temperat igni*; however, *ignis* is here used for 'love', and as such examples are Lucr. 1.19 *(Venus) omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem*, 4.1085, 1263, followed by Ovid (*Ars* 2.477, *Fast.* 4.99) *blanda voluptas*, Verg. *G.* 3.127 *ne blando nequeat superesse labori*, Ov. *Ars* 1.362 *blanda tum subit arte Venus.* (cf. TLL 2.2038.31f.).

luserat ignes 'she had mocked their advances', as in Ov. *Met.* 3.402f. *sic hanc (Echo), sic alias . . . / luserat hic nymphas (Narcissus).*

111 caelicolis fairly frequent in epic poetry since Ennius V491 = S445 (in the present book also in 472), but infrequent as an adjective; TLL 3.74.45ff. cites Apul. *Plat.* 1.2 and, erroneously, *Aen.* 6.787.

b.4. *113–139: Amazonia*

First the sons of Deimachus are taken on board, then the quest goes forward. The Thermodon is passed by (as advised by Phineus 4.606ff.), and, instead, the newcomers tell their story about Hercules's battle with the Amazons. Obliquely bringing Hercules back into the story prepares the reader for his re-appearance in 154–176. ARh 2.955–1001 is followed, but the allusions to Hercules are VF's contribution (as emphasized by Lüthje 193). Shey 142 focuses upon the section 1–216 as a synthesis of the new theme, *i.e.*, war in Colchis (cf. 89, 122, 126, 130), and an old theme of the first four books: Hercules as an Argonaut (possibly pointing the way for regarding the expedition as an Herculean endeavour).

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113. Addidit hic casu comites fortuna benigno
114. Autolycum Phlogiumque et Deileonta, secutos
115. Herculis arma viros. vagus hos ibi fixerat error.

113 casu . . . fortuna benigno *casus* is the event, *Fortuna* the 'agency directing events' (OLD 1a); cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.38 *quemcumque casum Fortuna invexerit*, *Aen.* 1.240 *nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos/ insequitur.*

114 Autolycum *Autolycus, Phlogius, Deileon,* had their names horribly corrupted by the unanimous Mss. The three take the places of the Argonauts lost, Hercules, Idmon, Tiphys. Their father was Deimachus of Tricca, see ARh 2.955–961, where some more details can be found.

115 vagus . . . error renders ἀποπλαγχθέντες (ARh 2.957) in words from Ovid: *Met.* 4.502 *errores vagos.* For the enallage cf. 85 n.; for the *errores* of Hercules around the Pontus cf. Herodot. 4.8.

fixerat boldly; there they had 'got stuck' in their wanderings. *error* with *fixerat* form an oxymoron.

*

116. ut Graiam videre manum puppemque Pelasgam
117. prima ruunt celeres ad litora seque precantur
118. accipiant socios. nova dux accedere gaudet
119. nomina desertos et iam sibi currere remos.

116 Graiam . . . Pelasgam on the use of *Graius* cf. Poortvliet *ad* 2.326.

puppemque Pelasgam cf. Austin *ad Aen.* 1.624 : "In Homer (*Il.* 2.840) the Pelasgi are a tribe from Larissa allied with the Trojans; later, the name was used for 'Greeks' in general, and autochthonous Greeks in particular". F. Schachermeyer (RE 19.252–256) emphasizes the contrast between on the one hand the Pelasgi as alien, pre-Greek, as Hecataeus appears to have interpreted them; or, alternatively, as "stammvaterlich, urgriechisch", proto-Greek. The Greeks as invaders probably interbred with the original population, so there may be no contradiction. See further Bömer *ad Met.* 7.49.

117 prima litora cf. 96 n.

precantur/ accipiant *precari* with subjunctive, without *ut*, already in *Aen.* 12.48ff.

118 accipiant . . . gaudet a verse framed by two finite verbs, cf. 51 n.

accedere for *accedere* of *socii* cf. *Aen.* 1.509 *cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno/ Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum.*

119 nomina 'persons of fame' (OLD 17, 10), as in 7.275, 8.462.

currere a bold use of the verb, *remus currit*, an extension of '*navis currit*'; cf. Ov. *Trist.* 1.10.3 *minimam bene currit ad auram (navis)*, 3.9.8 *per non temptatas primo cucurrit aquas (sc. Argo).*

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120. transit Halys longisque fluens anfractibus Iris
121. saevaque Thermodon medio sale murmura volvens
122. Gradivo sacer et spoliis ditissimus amnis,
123. donat equos, donat votas cui virgo secures,
124. cum redit ingenti per Caspia claustra triumpho
125. Massageten Medumque trahens.

120 transit Halys on the 'moving' Halys see 106 n., 51 n.

Halys . . . Iris . . . (Thermodon) The three rivers had been mentioned by ARh 2.963 (ἀγχίροον Ἶριν) and 970. The description of

the three rivers is an example of a rising tricolon: the Halys unqualified, the Iris with attributes, and a whole verse for the Thermodon. In contrast to that description, however, the river Halys is the largest in Anatolia, the boundary between Lydia and Persia, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia (Ruge, RE 7.2286). Langen calls the characterisation of the rivers 'poetical', as long meanderings are more typical of the Halys (Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.48 *influit et crebro vertice tortus Halys*) than of the smaller Iris, while the Thermodon is by far the shortest, though carrying a lot of water, Ruge RE 5a.2395–7.

longis . . . anfractibus cf. Luc. 1.605f. *dum illi effusam longis amfractibus urbem/ circumeunt*; Lucr. 1.718 has *magnis*, Sen. *Ep.* 104.15 *crebris*.

121 saeva although not so frequent in book 5, *saevus* is a real favourite of Valerius Flaccus; the overall frequency is 97 times, much higher than in Vergil (61) and, relatively, in the *Thebaid* (127), while in Lucan (87) it is only slightly lower than in Statius.

medio sale must mean: '<to be heard> in the midst of the sea' (from the descriptive point of view of the Argonauts). For the expression cf. 34 n.; *sal*, one of the poetic words for 'sea', in the wake of Homer's ἅλς, occurs in VF at 3.422, 5.121, 4.722, the alternative *salum* in 1.195, 1.688, 1.703.

murmura volvens *murmur* is often applied to the sea, as well as to rivers, *e.g. Aen.* 11.297f. *ceu saxa morantur/ cum rapidos amnis, fit clauso gurgite murmur.* Apparently it is a small step from a river rolling down boulders etc. (parallels in OLD 6a) to the *murmur* involved itself becoming the object. Another example of poetic transformation, followed by Silius in 3.465 (*Rhodanus*) *torsit harenoso minitantia murmura fundo.*

122 Gradivo sacer cf. *Aen.* 12.766 *sacer Fauno . . . oleaster. Gradivus* is an old name for Mars, in the present book in 142, 251, 618, 650. In 650 *Grad-* is short, as it is sometimes in Ovid. On the problem compare Bömer *ad Fast.* 2.861, quoting Walde/Hofmann LEW I[3] 616.

123 donat equos to the river horses and axes are given; *votas* belongs to both. Rivers are the recipients of different kinds of offerings; cf. Waser RE 6.2774–2815, Schmidt K.P. 2.585–587. Sheep and bulls are more frequently mentioned as in Hom. *Il.* 11.728 ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ or 23.144–148.

The sacrifice of horses is referred to mainly in a non-Greek context

(as a *Trojan* custom): Hom. *Il.* 21:130ff. ποταμός... ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώχυνας ἵππους, or Herod. 7.113... τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιέροντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκούς, as well as, contemporary with VF, Tac. *Ann.* 6.37.2 *ille (Tiridates) equum placando amni (Euphrati) adornasset.* VF is following ARh 2.1177 ἀλλ' ἵππους δαίτρευον (sc. αἱ 'Αμαζόνες). There is only one Greek example of sacrificing horses to a water deity (a well): Paus. 8.7.2 τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δίνην τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ 'Αργεῖοι κεκοσμηνένοις χαλινοῖς. See further Frazer *ad loc.*; Waser, *l.c.*, and Stengel, 1882 (Jahrb. Klass. Philol. 125:733).

It follows that horses, often used for sacrifices North and East of the mediterranean cultures, were more particularly immolated to rivers in the Persian culture; in this way VF may have added an exotic Eastern touch to the story.[20]

Dealing with the sacrifice of horses Krause *s.v. hostia*, RE Suppl. 5.248f., asserts (for Rome): "Allein dem Kriegsgott Mars galt das Rossopfer (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 97)", = 287B. However, in his description of the *October Equus*, (the sacrifice to Mars of one of a winning pair of horses after a race), Plutarch only states ὅτι θυμοειδὲς καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ ἀρήιον ὁ ἵππος ἐστι. Xen. *Anab.* 35.4.34, 35, tells of a horse given to the natives to be sacrificed, near where the Amazons were supposed to live, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαίτερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῦσαι. In the horse-centred culture of the Indo-Europeans horse sacrifice played an important rôle, on which there is some recent literature.[21] As far as funeral rites in ancient Thebes are concerned, *Theb.* 12.70 *mactabat equos (Creon)* is likely to be Statian extravagance.

In fact sacrificing horses was traditionally a habit of Amazons: P. Stengel (*Philol.* 39 (1880) 182–185) adduces the scholiast *ad* Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 192 παίζει κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν 'Αμαζόνων. γυναῖκες γὰρ οὖσαι

[20] A striking example of *vota* for offerings to a river from another culture comes from Iceland: Landnamabók, S kap. 355 *thorsteinn raudnefr var blótmadr mikill; hann blótadi forsinn, ok skyldi bera leifar allar á forsinn..... thorsteinn lét telja saudi sína ór rétt XX. hundrud, en thá hljóp alla réttina thadan af.* 'Thorstein Rednose was a fanatic idolater; he worshipped the waterfall and had obliged himself to bring all things (food) left over to the fall..... He had 2400 of his sheep counted from the flock, and then drowned all the rest of the flock'.

[21] J. Puhvel, 'Aspects of equine functionality', in *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans*, Berkeley, 1970; J.P. Mallory, 'The ritual treatment of the horse in the early Kurgan tradition', *J.I.E.S.* 9 (1981) 205–206; J. Maringer, 'The horse in art and ideology of indo-european peoples', *J.I.E.S.* 1981, 177–204.

λευκοὺς ἵππους ἔθυον (in a sexual context), as well as Ps.-Callisthenes (Dübner-Müller 3.25.8) who has Alexander visiting the Amazons, and the latter answering to a question ἡμεῖς δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγομεν πανήγυριν ἱπποφονίαν, θύουσαι τῷ Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ Ἄρει ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα.

With respect to *votas*, Waser (RE 6.2776) points to an inscription of Amphipolis allotting the river Strymon one tenth of confiscated property: CIG 2008 τὰ δὲ χρήματ' αὐτῶν δημόσια εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἐπι δέκατον ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος.

cui anaphora of *donat* and postposition of *cui* more or less as in Verg. *G.* 3.211 *sive boum sive est cui gratior usu equorum.*

virgo (the Amazon of 132f. *belli.../ virginei)* with short *-o*, as in 240, 258, 282; with long *-o* only 280 (*in arsi*). The same holds for *Juno*: short *-o* in 401, long *-o in arsi* in 183 and 363. For statistics see Poortvliet 249. Austin *ad Aen.* 2.735 explains that shortening of a final *-o* began as iambic shortening of iambic disyllables, and was extended to trisyllables and spondaic disyllables from Ovid onwards. Accordingly, Kösters 87 concludes that VF derives his practice from Ovid rather than from Vergil.

secures the Amazons are *securigerae* (137); their σάγαρις is mentioned by Aristarchus in his comments on Herodotus (*Amherst Papyri*, 2, 12 (II):10): σαγαρις· πελεκυς Σκυθικος οιον αι αμαζονες φορουσιν. Herodotus mentions the ax as a weapon of Massagetes (1.215) and Scythae (4.5, 4.70, 7.64). The Mossyni (151), neighbours of the Amazons, possessed axes too, cf. Xen. *Anab.* 5.4.13. The battle axe figures also *ibid.* 4.4.16 καὶ σάγαριν οἵανπερ καὶ Ἀμαζονόνες ἔχουσιν.

Elsewhere in VF the Amazons Euryale (5.613 *elata securi*) and Menippe (6.378f. *securem/ congeminans*) bear an axe. – In Statius the axes of the Amazons (*bipennes Theb.* 12.525) are used for felling trees and cleaving ice.

124 cum redit the virgins ride home from victory as their father Mars does in Stat. *Theb.* 7.64–74, with *spolia a tergo* (cf. *Massageten Medumque trahens*, 124).

ingenti it is difficult to resist quoting Henry III, 39, and 45, on Vergil's use of *ingens*: '*ingens* is our author's maid of all work – cook, slut, and butler at once'; 'Poor *Contra* and poor *Ingens*! as honest and kind-hearted as ye were overwrought, ye never complained... but stuck faithful and steady to your employer from the

day ye first entered his service to the very end of your engagement'.

Caspia claustra *claustra* can mean as much as 'narrows giving access to', as in Liv. 9.32.1 *quae urbs . . . velut claustra Etruriae erat.* In the end of his reign the Emperor Nero called back several legions for a war 'at the Caspian Gates' (Suet. *Nero* 19.2 *(Nero) parabat et ad Caspias portas expeditionem,* and enrolled a new legion called *Magni Alexandri phalanga*). As a result the name may have been fairly popular at the time, but according to Pliny it was a wrong name for the *Caucasian* gates, *Nat.* 6.40 *corrigendus est in hoc loco error multorum, etiam qui in Armenia res proxime cum Corbulone gessere. namque hi Caspias apellavere portas Hiberae quas Caucasias diximus vocari. . . . et Neronis principis comminatio ad Caspias portas tendere dicebatur, cum peteret illas quae per Hiberiam in Sarmatas tendunt. . . . Sunt autem aliae Caspiis gentibus iunctae, quod dinosci non potest nisi comitatu rerum Alexandri Magni.* Arrian speaks in 3.19.2 of τὰς Κασπίας καλουμένας πύλας giving acces to Media, but they were known already in the sixth century BC to Hecataeus of Miletus (Treidler, RE 22.322–333). Apparently, Statius corrects the misunderstanding in *Theb.* 8.290, in a comparison involving a Persian prince, pondering *cui Caspia limina mandet.* Furneaux comments *ad* Tac. *Ann.* 6.33 *Caspia via Sarmatum in Armenios . . . effundunt* that the so-called Caspian passes lead from present day Tiflis to the Terek valley (nowadays the Krestovyi Pass). More in R.G.M. Nisbet, 'The dating of Seneca's tragedies with special reference to Thyestes', *Proc. Leeds Int. Lat. Sem.* 6 (1990) 95–114, also in *Collected Papers on Latin Literature* 306–309 (ed. S.J. Harrison), Oxford 1995.

To explain the complex situation in Rome in January 69 Tacitus *Hist.* 1.6 refers to Nero's expedition: *multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et bellum, quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat.* Ritterling (RE 12.1260) comments: "gegen welche Gegner der Zug gerichtet werden sollte ist wohl schon in Altertum unklar gewesen. Im algemeinen wird der Krieg den sarmatischen stämmen nördlich des Kaukasus, die durch immer wiederholte Einfälle in das armenische und parthische Grenzgebiet auch den folgenden Kaisern, z.B. Vespasian zu schaffen machten, gegolten haben". VF has in 6.106f. *claustrisque profusi/ Caspiadae*; this should refer to *claustra* allowing access to real Caspii (Plin. *Nat.* 6.39) and as such could concern the real Caspian Gates, if VF was interested in exact geography at all. VF 5.604 *Medus et oppositis expectat Hiberia claustris* seems rather to conform to the picture presented in verse 124. Interestingly in the 6th century Jornand.

7 (p. 37) still knows the *pylas Caspias*. In 3.497, VF uses *Albana porta*. *Caspia claustra* occurs in Luc. 8.222, 291, *Caspiae pylae* in Mela 1.81, *Caspias portas* in Amm.Marc. 23.6.13, *portae Caspiacae* in Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.63f. A similar expression occurs in Sen. *Thy.* 374f. *aut qui Caspia fortibus/ recludunt iuga Sarmatis.*

125 Massagetenque Medumque eastern peoples known to the reader from Herodotus book 1, the former as having vanquished Cyrus. The *real* (see note above) Caspian gates would allow access to the Medes; the Massagetes live beyond the Caspian Sea, and would come by a pass called 'Caspian' anyhow. For the traditional description of Media, cf. Strabo 11.13 (where, at the end, the Caspian Gates recur), in particular 11.13.5 = C524 Ἡ δὲ μεγάλη τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγήσατο πάσης, καταλύσασα τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν. ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα τὴν τοσαύτην ἐξουσιαν ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγου, διεφύλαττε ὅμως πολὺ τοῦ πατρίου ἀξιώτατος, καὶ ἦν τὰ Ἐκβάτανα θερίδιον τοῖς Πέρσαις.

Medus may in the Augustan period have referred to the Parthians: Verg. *G.* 4.211 *Medus Hydaspes*, Prop. 3.12.11 *neve tua Medae laetentur caede sagittae*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.21 *Medumque flumen*. On the alliteration see 21 n. *Medus* occurs again in 5.604. For *Medum trahens* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.34ff. *quandoque trahet ferocis/ per sacrum clivum . . ./. . . Sygambros*, where the *reditus* (cf. *redit* 124) of the triumphant Augustus is described, *merita decorus fronde.*

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125. est vera propago
126. sanguinis, est ollis genitor deus. hinc magis alta
127. Haemonidae petere et monitus non temnere Phinei.

125 vera propago the Amazons are 'true daughters (sc. of Mars)'; cf. *Aen.* 8.301 *salve, vera Iovis proles* (Hercules). For *propago* ('progeny') cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.38 *tua vera propago* (Phaeton to his father), Sil. 13.748 *o pietas, o sancta fides, o vera propago*, further Lucr. 1.42 *Memmi clara propago*, Man. 1.795, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.84ff. *non omnia sanguis/ proximus aut serie generis demissa propago/ alligat*; Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 1.160: "ein Wort hohen Stils".

126 sanguinis 'blood' for a genetic relationship, as in 5.266 *frater materno sanguine Perses*, Ov. *Met.* 1.160 *sed et illa propago/ contemptrix . . ./ et violenta fuit: scires e sanguine natos.* Further: VF 4.348 *claro de sanguine vates*, Ov. *Met.* 9.466 *iam nomina sanguinis* (consanguinity) *odit* (Byblis!),

Aen. 7.49, 8.142 *sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ex uno*, Liv. 6.40.6, Juv. 8.1f. *stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo/ sanguine censeri*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.43.5 *Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat.* The combination *propago sanguinis* may be a bold contraction of a longer clause with some attribute to be supplied like *socia* in *Titanum suboles, socia nostri sanguinis*, translated by Cicero in *Tusc.* 2.23 after the lost play of Aeschylus *Prometheus Devinctus*. Compare further Sen. *Tro.* 463 *veterisque suboles sanguinis nimium incliti.* Courtney referred to Pacuvius, *Antiopa*, fr. 22 W *salvete, gemini, mea propages sanguinis* (*propages* is by and large a synonym of *propago*). Alternatively, *vera propago sanguinis* could be a case of enallage, as Langen *ad* 3.4 takes it.

ollis archaic, in Lucr. and Verg. in the wake of Ennius; in the first century AD only twice in VF (also in 3.386) and twice in Silius (1.104, 6.135), to make a come-back in the fourth-century poets. Words like '*olli*'... *aspergunt illam vetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem*, Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.25.

genitor Skutsch 259: 'a solemn word, not used in comedy, rare in prose, and first found in Ennius'; cf. *Ann.* V113 = S108 *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum* (cf. *sanguinis* 126). He was apparently followed by Vergil (58 times). VF has 28 cases; cf. 393 n.

deus Mars, cf. 89 *Mavortia*, ARh 2.990, VF 4.602 *inclita Amazonidum magnoque exorta Gradivo/ gens ibi.* – Mentioning the Amazons serves to explain the reluctance to make a landfall in the territory of such foes; and once they have been brought into focus, now serves to introduce Jason's request for a story about them (129–139).

deus. hinc on the bucolic punctuation (followed by a vowel or *h*) see 101 n.

hinc according to TLL 6.3.2801.58 *hinc* indicates a causal relationship ('*propter hos errores*'), which does not exclude a temporal one or a local one.

alta (petere) for *alta petere* cf., *e.g. Aen.* 7.362 *perfidus alta petens praedo*, 8.691, 9.81. For the preference of VF for the plural *alta* cf. Korn *ad* 6–7a.

127 Haemonidae Αἱμονίδης occurs as a patronymic in the *Iliad* (4.394, 17.467). Haemon is the eponym of the Haemones, a tribe in Thessaly; he is son of Pelasgos, father of Thessalus (Kern, s.v. *Haimonia*, RE 7.2219/2220). The plural *Haemonidae* (for 'Thessalians', that is, Argonauts), occurs only in VF. The land Haemonia is mentioned in ARh 3.1090 Αἱμονίην δὴ τήνγε περικτίονες καλέουσιν./ ἐν δ' αὐτῇ

Ἰαωλκός. See further Frazer *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 5.381, Bömer *ad Fast.* 2.40.

petere . . . temnere historic infinitives, as in 169, 173, 267. Schlicher observes that there was a tendency in Flavian epic to use historic infinitives in exactly the same metrical position as in Vergil; in the present case he compares *Aen.* 9.790 *et fluvium petere ac.* The same comment could be made on *temnere* (although in *Aen.* 6.620 (see below) the infinitive stands rather for an *imperative*).

monitus . . . Phinei in 4.606f.

et monitus non temnere cf. *Aen.* 6.620 *discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos. temnere* for *contemnere* is Lucretian style, in poetry in use if only for metrical advantage (Norden *ad loc.*), used by Vergil in speeches only (Austin *ad Aen.* 1.542). In prose only once, in an epically coloured context (Tac. *Hist.* 3.47, with *ductor,* cf. 36 n.).

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128. ipse autem comitum conversus ad ora novorum
129. "vos mihi nunc pugnas' ait 'et victricia' ductor
130. 'Herculis arma mei vestrasque in litore Martis
131. interea memorate manus".

128 ipse . . ./. . . ductor the distance between *ipse* and *ductor* (129) is extreme; slightly less with the same two words in 3.604f. **ipse** *vel excelsi cum densa silentia montis/ strata vel oblatis* **ductor** *videt aequora ventis/ stat lacrimas . . .* Another example is *Aen.* 5.609f. *illa . . . virgo.*

autem OLD 5: 'introducing a fresh idea or consideration: Now', *e.g.* Cic. *de Orat.* 2.346 *gratissima autem laus eorum factorum habetur quae . . .* An example from Vergil is *Aen.* 6.826 *(aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.) illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis/. . .* VF uses *autem* in the same way in 5.399, 5.576 *ipse autem . . . arma/ (expetit Aesonides),* 5.618, 7.32.

129 vos mihi nunc . . . for the words of Iason, cf. 4.84 *multaque deserto memores super Hercule volvunt.*

victricia (arma) cf. *Aen.* 3.54 *arma,* Ov. *Met.* 10.151 *fulmina,* Luc. 1.347 *signa,* Sil. 4.167f. *spicula,* Ov. *Fast.* 1.525 *victrices . . . flammae,* Luc. 1.3 *victrici dextra,* Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.25 *hederae victricis.*

pugnas . . . (memorate) cf. Verg. *G.* 3.46f. *accingar dicere pugnas/ Caesaris.*

pugnas et arma cf. 4.752f. *bellove magis laetarer et armis/ procubuisse, Aen.* 1.545 *nec bello maior et armis,* 4.615 *at bello . . . vexatus et armis,* 7.235 *seu quis bello est expertus et armis.*

130 mei affectionately, in the mouth of the commander, as in 7.423 *meus ... Iphis?* Often of children, as in VF 1.566f. *sic esse meus ... Liber* (Jupiter), 1.811 *nati ... mei* (Aeson).

in litore Martis alluding to the bellicose manners of the Amazons.

131 manus 'deeds', cf. *Aen.* 6.683 *fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque*, Sen. *Ag.* 23 *ob infandas manus.*

*

sic fatus et aegro
corde silens audit currus bellique labores
virginei, exciderit frenis quae prima remissis
semianimem patrius quam vexerit amnis in aequor,
quae pelta latus atque umeros nudata pharetris
fugerit Herculeae mox vulnere prensa sagittae,
utque securigeras stimulaverit Ira catervas
fleturusque pater, quantus duce terror in ipsa,
qui furor, insignis quo balteus arserit auro.

131 fatus Mss., Giarratano, Courtney, Ehlers; *fatur* (Meyncke 1865:43) was printed by Thilo, Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Bury, Kramer, Mozley. Strand 109 has defended *fatus* adducing a number of examples of *fatus* followed by a coordinator and a finite verb: 4.54, as well as several in Stat. *Theb.* (*e.g.*, 7.390). Compare also *Aen.* 6.547 *tantum effatus et in verbo vestigia torsit*, 10.877 *tantum effatus et infesta subit obvius hasta.* It is easiest to supply *est.* For a similar ellipse of *esse* cf. for example *Aen.* 11.704f. *consilio versare dolos ingressus (sc. est) et astu/ incipit haec:. . . .*

aegro (corde) 'in a troubled mood'; cf. (from TLL 1.941.23ff.) 3.74f. *aegra virorum/ corda labant*, 5.264 *aegro corde negat (sc. Aeetes)*, Enn. *Ann.* V55 = S50 *vix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit*, *Ann.* V349 = S349 *aegro corde, comis passis*, as well as Ov. *Tr.* 4.6.43 *corpore sed mens est aegro magis aegra*, Sen. *Oed.* 356 *cor marcet aegrum*, Sil. 8.288 *aegro frenabat corde dolores.*

132 audit the combination *audit currus et labores* is a difficult one because one can physically hear the *noise* made by a cart or chariot; *audit* should not therefore in general refer to a *story* about a chariot, as is the case with *labores.* (*Currus* as plural accusative, *currus et labores* a hendiadys). However, there are some cases supporting this interpretation: Tac. *Germ.* 41.2 *(Albis) flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc*

tantum auditur, 37.2 *sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus*. Similarly *Aen.* 7.196 *auditique advertitis aequore cursum* does not mean that Latinus heard the Dardanids splashing through the sea. Fordyce *ad Aen.* 7.196 gives some other examples, one of which is Cic. *N.D.* 2.6 . . ., *eo ipso die auditam esse eam pugnam ludis Olympiae memoriae proditum est*, and I feel that the examples support a tendency of which VF, once again, would produce an extreme case. Another way out would be to consider *currus* a singular genitive; the hendiadys *currus bellique labores*, however, would make the story one referring to one particular chariot battle instead of giving just general information.

currus has repeatedly been replaced, by *cursus* (Anon. in Harles (ed. Altenburg 1781), *fide* Strand), or by *casus* Meyncke, Shackleton Bailey. The latter pleaded a strong case by quoting Sil. 1.139 *latent casus longique labores*. Strand 109 has defended *currus* because '*currus bellique labores* seems to be quite in line with Valerius's style. . . . The connection with the following *frenis remissis* shows that there is full justification for *currus*. Cf. also 5, 611; 6,370' (both *curru*). Though their traditional method is on horseback (89 n.), the Amazon Euryale fights from a chariot (passages below). The verb *excidere* is exclusively associated with chariots (see note on *exciderit* below), thus strongly supporting the transmitted text *currus* in the present case. Compare also *Aen.* 11.661 *seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru/ Penthesileia refert*, and Stat. *Theb.* 12.524 (see 133 n.). One reference to Amazons on horseback in VF may be 4.607f. *volitans cum turba . . ./ pulvereis exultat equis*. – *currus bellique labores* resembles *Aen.* 1.16f. *hic illius* (Juno) *arma,/ hic currus fuit*, 6.485, or 6.651 *arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis*, 6.653f. *quae gratia currum/ armorumque fuit vivis*, in which cavalry warfare looks the more aristocratic occupation, and as such specific for heroes.

bellique labores cf. *Aen.* 11.126 *iustitiaene potius mirer belline laborum?*, Ov. *Met.* 13.316 *bellique viaeque labori*, Luc. 7.92f. *potuit tibi volnere nullo/ stare labor belli*, 9.1016f. *rex tibi Pellaeus belli pelagique labores/ donat*, Sil. 15.652f. *quid cessas clusisse labores/ ingentis belli?*; compare also VF 5.617 *belligeros . . . labores*. For the story meant see 138 n., 139 n. In Stat. *Theb.* 12.524 *virginei* occurs in the same position in the verse in the combination *virginei currus* (nominative).

133 virginei the word *virgineus* is used, in the wake of Lucretius and Vergil, only in poetry; in prose *virginalis* is used, in poetry not after Ennius and Accius (data from OLD).

exciderit cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.743f. *exciderat curru lorisque morantibus artus/ Hippolytus . . . raptus erat,* Juv. 4.126f. *aut de temone Britanno excidet Arvivagus,* Sen. *Her.O.* 1163 *quo paene lapsis excidit Titan equis* where *equi* stands for the chariot; note that the word is not used for falling from a horse (TLL 5.2.1235.67ff.).

frenis . . . remissis (ablative absolute); the combination of these words is once found elsewhere (TLL 6.1.1291.70), in Ov. *Met.* 2.191f. *et nec frena remittit/ nec retinere valet.* With an alternative verb *Aen.* 5.817f. *spumantiaque addit/ frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.*

134 V and L read *patrius quam sanguine vexerit amnis.* I am at a loss to give a straightforward interpretation of *sanguine,* either as a locative ('in the midst of her blood') or as an ablative of description ('a river with blood' = 'a river of blood'). This make me to prefer *semianimem patrius quam vexerit amnis in aequor* (from **C**). It is supported by Stat. *Theb.* 11.227 *hos pelago patrius iam detulit amnis.* – *semianimis* was used by Lucan as well as by Vergil, but stands in the old tradition of Ennius V473 = S484 *semianimesque micant oculi. semianimus* does not occur in VF; for pairs of adjectives ending in *-us* / *-is* , cf. 28 n.

patrius the combination *patrius amnis* occurs several times in VF: 5.191, 397, 419, 4.229. *patrius* may have notions like 'referring to a – particular – father' (sc. Mars), as well as 'native', 'ancestral' (from *patria*); cf. *Aen.* 2.491 *instat vi patria Pyrrhus,* Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.83 *at mihi perpetuo patria tellure carendum est,* Plin. *Nat.* 8.1 *quippe intellectus illis sermonis patrii* (about elephants), Man. 5.394f. *at, cum se patrio producens aequore Piscis/ in caelumque ferens alienis finibus ibit.*

vexerit cf. *Aen.* 7.24 *(Neptunus) et praeter vada fervida vexit,* 6.355f. *tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes/ vexit me violentus aqua,* 7.197f.

135 pelta (πέλτη), the (apparently Thracian) small shield of the Amazons; cf. 6.375 *qua pelta vacat* (in connection with the Amazon Thoe), *Aen.* 1.490 *Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis,* Sen. *Phaedr.* 402f. *lunata latus/ protecta pelta,* Sil. 2.80 *Thermodontiaca munita in proelia pelta,* Plut. *Pomp.* 35.3 πέλταις Ἀμαζονικαῖς καὶ κοθόρνοις. Tarrant ad Sen. *Ag.* 217 speaks of the three conventional marks of the Amazon: painted quivers (on which, however, cf. 609 n.), the half moon shield, the axe, and gives a list of parallels. When Camilla is described as an Amazon in *Aen.* 11, the *pharetra* (649), *bipennis* (651), *securis* (656), *picta arma* (660), *pelta* (663), *currus* (661) all feature.

pelta latus atque umeros nudata pharetris the present construction with an accusative of respect is probably used by anal-

ogy with verbs of (un)dressing. Statius imitates VF in *Ach.* 2.5ff. *punicea nudatum pectora palla . . . Aeaciden.* The accusatives and ablatives are chiastically arranged.

pharetris cf., *e.g. Aen.* 5.310ff. *primus equum . . . habeto;/ alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis/ Threiciis.*

136 Herculeus Ἡράκλειος is frequent in Sophocles (*e.g. Trach.* 170 τῶν Ἡρακλείων . . . πόνων) and later Greek. Since the first use of *Herculeus* in Verg. *G.* 2.66 there seems to be an increase in frequency: *Aeneid* 6 cases, *Metamorphoses* 9, *Pharsalia* 7, VF 11, *Thebaid* 20.

137 securigeras cf. 3.191 *securigerumque Nearcen,* Ov. *Ep.* 4.117 *prima securigeras inter virtute puellas (sc. Amazones)/ te (sc. Hippolytus) peperit.* For Amazons' battle-axes cf. 123 n. The word *securiger* is used only in poetry and occurs also in Sen. *Oed* 471 (Lycurgus), *Ag.* 217 (*Amazon*), Sil. 16.48 (*Cantaber*, a tribe in N.E.Spain); cf. *securifer* in Ov. *Met.* 12.460, where it is applied to Centaurs. On adjectives ending in *-fer* cf. 43 n.; further literature in Korn *ad* 4.139 with the complete list (*-fer* and *-ger*).

Ira for *Ira* personified, cf. 145 n., 146 n., and Poortvliet *ad* 2.205: 'the Irae have a gregarious nature. But Ira also works on her own', as she does, *e.g.* in Stat. *Theb.* 3.424 *comunt Furor Iraque cristas,* 9.832f. *Bellipotens, cui sola vagum per inane ruenti/ Ira comes.* Other examples of personification of emotions and character traits, an elaboration of Hom. *Il.* 4.440f., in *Aen.* 12.336 *Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus,* Sen. *Her.F.* 690ff., etc.

catervas 15 times in Vergil (incl. *caterva, -vae, -vis*), 7 times in VF, 24 times in Statius, always in the last position of the hexameter.

138 fleturusque pater Mars, who is going to bewail his lost daughters; for the combination *Ira* and Mars, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.832f. quoted above.

duce in ipsa the story involves a labour of Hercules; he is to acquire the belt of their queen. As the name for the queen in question Apollodorus 2.5.9. (Hercules's 9th labour) gives Hippolyte, as well as ARh 2.999 and Servius *ad Aen.* 11.661; VF does not speak of the queen, cf. 7 n.

139 qui furor (attributive) *qui* is remarkable. Löfstedt, *Synt.* 2:79–96, makes clear that *quis* is much more frequent in poetry; if *qui* is used it often stands before letter *s*. In Seneca *qui* is not found, in Lucan once, before *-s*, in Statius thrice; in VF there are six cases, before different letters (as well as twice *quique* where *quisque* would

have a different meaning): 1.621, 1.744, 2.66, 4.704, 5.139, 6.46. For *quis furor* there would be models in Vergil, as in *G.* 4.495 *quis tantus furor?*, *Aen.* 5.670 *quis furor iste novus.* K/S 1.655f. explain that attributive *quis* asks after identity, that *qui* rather asks after the special case of 'what sort of...'. In most of the cases in VF *qui* can be allowed such a special sense; in 1.621 one would tend to give it the sense of *qualis.* Also present *qui* occupies the position of a counterpart to *quantus*, *i.e.* has the sense of *qualis*: 'how much horror she inspired, how deep her typical frenzy possessed her' (in 4.604 VF *has* coordinated *qualis* and *quantus* in *sed qualis, sed quantus... Enyo*).

insignis there is a controversy on whether to read *in signis* or *insignis.* Maserius, Carrio, Thilo, Baehrens, Bury, Giarratano, Ehlers opt for the first; Schenkl, Langen, Mozley, Kramer, Courtney prefer the second, which appears to have been read in codex **C**. The possibilities are: 1. *quantus terror in ipsa duce, qui furor in signis;* 2a. *quantus terror in ipsa duce, qui furor, insignis... balteus;* 2b. *quantus terror in ipsa duce, qui furor insignis.*

The first is attractive in view of a more gradually rising tricolon, but the reading involves repetition of *in* + ablative. Examples of such repetition of *in* in a rhetorical asyndeton (excluding repeated *in te...*, *in te...*, with different sequels) are infrequent. In Vergil with the **accusative** *Aen.* 10.677f. *in rupes, in saxa/ ferte ratem*; with the **ablative** *Ecl.* 7.65/68 *fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis,/ populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis,/.../ fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis.* Linked by *et* or *-que* a small number of cases occurs with the accusative as in *Aen.* 2.510ff., 2.337, 12.293, VF 3.383, 6.550f.; in asyndeton VF 4.62f. *in quem alium Alciden, in quae iam tempora differs/ Caucaseum... senem?*, 8.123f. The second reading is supported (because the *furor* resides in the queen) by *Aen.* 1.491 *Penthesileia furens* as well as, possibly, by the rarity of repetition of *in*; the pregnant *brevitas* would be quite in Valerius's line. Both interpretations require coordination of *quantus* and *qui* as in *Aen.* 11.283f. *experto credite quantus/ in clipeum adsurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam*; an example from VF is 5.517f. *quem te horrifero sortitus in axe/ Caucasus atque tuis quantum mitescat habenis.*

As to the choice between 2a and 2b, one cannot be dogmatic about the location of the comma, before or after *insignis*, but I have a preference for the *balteus insignis* because the famous *balteus* with its Greek connotations might beg for a special attribute. A *balteus* studded with gold is figuring in Sen. *Her.F.* 543 *aurato religans ilia balteo* (the Amazon queen), Ov. *Ep.* 21.119 *Amazonio caelatus balteus auro,*

Met. 9.189 *Thermodontiaco caelatus balteus auro*; it would be difficult to attempt extending the note of Bömer *ad loc.* except for emphasizing the antiquity of the myth by quoting Hes. fr. 278 Rzach (*ex* Scholiast *ad* Pind. *Nem.* 3.64) χρυσοζώνοιο ἀνάσσης (not in Merkelbach/West). In *Aen.* 5.311ff. Virgil speaks of an *Amazoniam pharetram* . . ./. . . *lato quam circum amplectitur auro/ balteus*. *Penthesileia furens* is described in *Aen.* 1.492 as *aurea subnectus exsertae cingula mammae.* Related cases are Pers. 4.44f. *sed lato balteus auro/ praetegit,* Germ. 602 *claro caelatus balteus igni* (of Orion). (The latter example alone suffices to make clear that a *balteus* need not be worn on the shoulders; in *Aen.* 12.942 *cingula* and *balteus* are used as synonyms.) The substantive *insigne* is applied to the *balteus* in *Aen.* 12.944.

Examples of *ardere* associated with an ablative, analogous to *quo* . . . *arserit auro* are, *e.g.*, 1.345f. *te* . . . *ardentem vellere rapto,* 3.340 *ardentes murice vestes,* 6.526 *barbarica chlamys ardet acu,* Verg. *Aen.* 4.262 *Tyroque ardebat murice laena, G.* 4.91 *maculis auro squalentibus ardens,* Luc. 2.482f. *ardentisque acies percussis sole corusco/*. . . *telis,* Sil. 15.676 *ardebat gemma Garamantide caerula vestis.* (TLL 2.487.46ff. adds Verg. *G.* 4.99, but there *auro* depends rather on *lita*; the association of *insignis* and *auro* occurs also in Ov. *Met.* 15.131.)

All in all, I prefer the comma to be placed before *insignis* (alternative 2a).

balteus more on the object of Hercules's desire in Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 9.189 and K. Schauenburg, *Philologus* 104 (1960) 1–13, 'Der Gürtel der Hippolyte'.

b.5. *140–153: Other Pontic peoples*

First (140–146) the land of the Chalybes is passed; observe the central position in the 144 lines 73–216 (cf. Introduction). Then they sail along the coast of the Tibarenes, Mossynoeci, Macrones, Byzeres (147–153). The source material comes from ARh 2.1000–1029 and 1231–1245. The long scene at the Island of Ares, where the four sons of Phrixus were met with, is omitted. The long rhesis of Prometheus to Io, Aeschyl. *Prom. Vinct.* 707–735, plays a role, describing her journey around the Pontus where she passes the σιδηροτέκτονες . . . Χάλυβες (715), and comes to Caucasus (719) as well as to the Amazons on the Thermodon (725). Shreeves 158: 'In Valerius's description of the voyage, as the Argonauts draw nearer to Colchis, the peoples whom they pass become more alien and the places more remote. . . . 159. . . . Although Apollonius mentions more

names, Valerius's shorter exotic list is enough to attest that the Argo has passed entirely beyond the pale of the familiar world into a world which is as strange to them as they to it'.

*

140. Nocte sub extrema clausis telluris ab antris
141. pervigil auditur Chalybum labor: arma fatigant
142. ruricolae, Gradive, tui; sonat illa creatrix
143. prima manus belli, terras crudelis in omnes.

140 nocte sub extrema rendering ARh 2.1001 νυκτὶ ἐπιπλομένῃ, 'at the end of <that> night' (Rupprecht's "gegen Ende der Nacht", not, as Mozley (echoed by Shey 15) 'at the dead of night'). Compare Man. 5.698 *nocte sub extrema promittunt iura diei,* 7.538f., Cic. *Arat.* 81f. *tum sese Orion toto iam corpore condit/ extrema prope nocte,* Sil. 4.88 *sub extremum noctis fugientibus umbris,* Plin. *Nat.* 18.205, Ov. *Fast.* 2.686 *sextus ab extremo . . . mense dies.* – The nocturnal cruise along a hostile coast from where terrifying noises are heard (*Aen.* 7.15 *exaudiri*) has been taken by Schetter and Shey as another point in common between *Arg.* book 5 and *Aen.* book 7 (*Aen.* 7.13 *nocturna*); cf. 7 n.

clausis telluris ab antris refers to subterranean (iron-)mines, cf. VF 5.144f., Catul. 66.49f. *et qui principio sub terra quaerere venas/ instituit,* or rather smithies in view of *Aen.* 8.420f. *stridunt caverni,/ stricturae Chalybum.* There may be allusion to *Aen.* 8.418ff. (Cyclopes at work) in *antra, tonant* (419), *auditi* (420), to be compared to *antris* (140), *sonat* (142), *auditur* (141); cf. nn. on *pervigil* and *fatigant.*

141 pervigil is a word occurrring 8 times in VF, 7 times in Stat. *Theb.*, found in poetry since Ovid (*Am.* 1.6.44), in prose since Petr. 102.3 *gubernator, qui pervigil. pervigil* does not occur in Vergil, who has *vigil* 6 times (9 times in VF, *e.g.*, 5.485). Further data in Korn *ad* 4.286b–288. On *pervigil . . . labor* cf. (TLL 7.1.796.2f.) Ov. *Tr.* 2.11 *vigilatorum laborum.* The word refers to the nightly toil of ARh 2.1007f. and *Aen.* 8. 411 *noctem addens operi.*

Chalybum cf. VF 4.610f. *non ita sit metuenda tibi saevissima quamquam/ gens Chalybum, duris patiens cui cultus in arvis/ et tonat adflicta semper domus ignea massa.* Strabo 12.3.19 = C549 tells us that the Chalybes, in his day the Chaldei, had iron mines in mountains coming right up to the sea; and as to these mountains, γεωργεῖται δ' οὐ πολλά (so they rather went fishing!). The Scholiast *ad* ARh 2.375 has οἱ δὲ Χάλυβες ἔθνος Σκυθικὸν μετὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα, οἳ μέταλλα

σιδήρου εὑροντες μοχθοῦσι περὶ τὴν ἐργασιάν. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Χάλυβες ἀπὸ Χάλυβος τοῦ Ἄρεως υἱοῦ. ARh himself has (2.1005) ἀλλὰ σιδηροφόρον στυφελὴν χθόνα γατομέοντες/ ὦνον ἀμείβονται βιοτήσιον. Dion. Per. in his *Orbis Descriptio* 768/771 (2nd cent. AD) again depicts the Chalybes as a people of toils and misery, τοῖς δ' ἔπι καὶ Χάλυβες στυφελὴν καὶ ἀπήνεα γαῖαν/ ναίουσιν, μογεροῦ δεδαηκότες ἔργα σιδήρου,/ οἵ ῥα βαρυγδούποισιν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν ἑστηῶτες./ οὔποτε παύονται καμάτου καὶ οἰζύος αἰνῆς. The *Orb. Descr.* has been translated by Avienus and Priscianus as follows: Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 942ff. *nunc ab Colchis populos... primum Byzerum gens;... Chalybes super, arva ubi ferri/ ditia vulnifici crepitant incudibus altis*, Prisc. *Perieg.* 744f. *Hanc prope sunt Chalybes, durissima rura colentes;/ quos labor exercet saevus ferrique metalla.* Compare Niceph., an epigone, in 761–798: οἱ Χάλυβες οἵτινες οὐ παύουσιν τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, ἐργάζοντες τὸν μοχθηρὸν σιδήρον.

arma fatigant in passages quoted in the preceding note several words emphasize the *labor* involved in working the 'wretched' iron, wearing the Chalybes out; it is as if VF directs the exhaustion to their *tools*. The bold expression has no proper parallel, but may be derived from *Aen.* 8.424 *ferrum exercebant. fatigare* occurs also in 601. In view of the connection of the Chalybes with Mars, the connotation 'arms' is likely to play a rôle as well. They wear out their tools producing arms. Compare also 5.540 *namque virum trahit ipse chalybs.*

142 ruricolae paradoxically of people not living from tilling the soil, but spending the land itself; cf. *durissima rura colentes* in Avien. *Orb. Terr. l.c.*

Gradive cf. 122 n.

tui in 141 n. the Scholiast *ad* ARh 2.375 calls their founding father a son of Mars.

sonat Burman is worried about the word, preferring *tonat.* In VF *sonare* is very frequent (15 times, as against once *tonare*), so there is no reason to change the text, even if *Aen.* 8.419 (cf. 140 n. *clausis telluris ab antris*) has *tonant.*

creatrix (manus) for the frequent adjectival use (in apposition) of nouns in *-tor* and *-trix* cf. Williams *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 10.174. *creatrix* occurs, in addition to the present passage, only 6 times in extant pagan Latin; in the wake of *creator* the word was to have a great future in Christian literature (TLL 4.1115.44ff.). For the sense cf. Sil. 15.184f. *bellorum dira creatrix/ evastanda tibi tellus (sc. Africa).* For the commonplace that there is no war without iron cf. VF 5.144,

Ov. *Met.* 1.140ff. on the third race *effodiuntur opes, inritamenta malorum./ iamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum/ prodierat: prodit bellum,* or Prop. 2.15.41ff. *qualem si cuncti cuperent decurrere vitam/ et pressi multo membra iacere mero,/ non ferrum crudele neque esset bellica navis.* The notion goes back to Callimachus 110 (*Coma Berenices*) 48ff. Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος,/ γειόθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φύτον, οἵ μιν ἔφηναν/ πρῶτοι καὶ τυπίδων ἔφρασαν ἐργασίην. This has been translated by Catullus in *Carm.* 66. 48ff. *Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat,/ et qui principio sub terra quaerere venas/ institit ac ferri stringere duritiem!*

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144. nam prius ignoti quam dura cubilia ferri
145. eruerent ensesque darent, Odia aegra sine armis
146. errabant Iraeque inopes et segnis Erynis.

144 cubilia normally used for 'bed', 'den'; apparently by extension *cubile* can serve as a metaphor for a vein of iron lying in the earth.

145 eruerent cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.8.53 *eruimus terra solidum pro frugibus aurum,* Luc. 4.223f. *non chalybem gentes penitus fugiente metallo/ eruerent,* Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.15f. *eruto/ auro.* The subjunctive probably introduces a notion of crafty design, of guile. In any case a subjunctive following *priusquam* becomes more common from classical times onwards (Sz. 599f.)

darent 'helped the world to'; here possibly with connotations of 'giving them into one's hands'.

Odia aegra for *Odia* personified cf. *Ira* in 137 n.; for a different epithet cf. *odia aspera* in 4.254. *aegra* ('weak') should be understood in close connexion with *sine armis,* and has connotations like 'harmless'.

146 Iraeque inopes et segnis Erynis 'Rage (wandered around) powerless and the Fury as <something> torpid'. Notice the chiastic order of adjective and substantive (not frequent, Gebbing 59). Now, in the Iron Age, these words read like oxymora.

segnis on the frequency of *segnis* in poetry see statistics provided by Korn *ad* 4.152–153a.

Erinys altogether 8 times in VF, always as the last word in the line; 4 times in *Aen.*, only once *not* as the last word (7.447). For mythological data on Erinys see Bömer *ad Met.* 4.473–511.

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147. inde Genetaei rupem Iovis, hinc Tibarenum
148. dant virides post terga lacus, ubi deside mitra
149. feta ligat partuque virum fovet ipsa soluto.
150. vos quoque non notae mirati vela carinae,
151. Mossynoeci, et vos stabulis, Macrones, ab altis
152. Byzeresque vagi Philyraeque a nomine dicta
153. litora, quae cornu pepulit Saturnus equino.

147 Genetaei . . . Iovis according to ARh 2.378, a temple of Zeus Euxeinos was called after the river Genes or Genetes (ὁ Γενήτης, Steph.Byz. *s.v.*, Strabo 12.3.17 = C 548); cf. the scholiast *ad* ARh 2.378 Γενηταία ἄκρα, κυριῶς οὕτω λεγομένη ἀπὸ Γένητος ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα Διὸς Ξενίου ἱερόν ἐστι. The word *rupem* represents ἄκρην; compare also ARh 2.1009 Γενηταίου Διὸς ἄκρην.

Tibarenum if we accept this conjecture of long standing, it is the only word of more than three syllables at the end of a line in book 5 (Kösters 56). On Tibareni cf. Mela 1.106 *Tibareni Chalybas attingunt, quibus in lusu risaque summum bonum est.*

148 dant . . . post terga *dare* in the present sense not found elsewhere (TLL 5.1.1671.62ff.); *Aen.* 10.870 comes closest, *sic cursum in medios rapidus dedit.* Another unusual *dare* is found in 182; see *ad loc.* For *post terga* cf. Luc. 2.628 *ubi nulla fides rebus post terga relictis*, Ov. *Met.* 2.187f. *multum caeli post terga relictum,/ ante oculis plus est.* The nominative occurs in VF only in the plural *terga* (36 times); compare the case of *vina*, 97 n.

virides . . . lacus not green in the sense of 'with their emerald water', but green because of vegetation; Langen gives several parallels, one of these 185f. *virentia supra/ flumina.*

deside mitra the *owner* of the *mitra* is *deses* ('idle in bed'), a case of enallage (cf. 85 n.). *deses* also in 3.660f. *quid deside terra/ haeremus. ligare mitra* corresponds to κράατα δησάμενοι, ARh 2.1013.

149 feta *fetus* is a poetic word, unusual in prose (TLL 6.1.639.50ff.); used as an adjective in VF at 7.367 *iuga feta* (herbs on a mountain).

partu soluto cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.258 *ut solvat partus molliter illa suos (= Lucina)*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.461 *partusque in vota soluti*, *Ach.* 1.674 *et partus index Lucina resolvit* (TLL 10.1.537.53ff.).

virum fovet on the 'couvade' practised by the Tibarenes (ARh 2.1012 αὐτοὶ μὲν στενάχουσιν ἐνὶ λεχέεσσι πεσόντες) Langen

quotes the same habit from Diod. 5.14.1 (Corsica) and Strabo 3.4.17 = C 165 (among the Cantabri in Spain, who in 3.4.18 are described as a gynocratic people, which is another point in common with the present North Anatolian tribes (89 n.)).

151 Mossynoeci from ARh 2.1015–1019 and 378–383, living in '*mossunae*' (ARh 2.381 δουρατέοις πύργοισιν). Their quaint habits are part of Fränkel's (*ad loc.*) 'Verkehrte Welt'. They have an indoor democracy, but sex in the open air; if the king fails in doing justice, he is kept without meals for a day. An eye-witness's report is Xenophon's (*Anab.* 5.4), mentioning the openly promiscuous ways as well as fortresses with high towers (μόσσυν). Strabo 12.3.18 described the inhabitants of the region as ἄγριοι τελέως. The Mosynoeci (with only one -σ) live ἐπὶ δένδρεσιν ἢ πυργίνοις. Mela 1.106 recounts *ultra Mossyni turres ligneas subeunt, notis corpus omne persignant, propatulo vescuntur, promisce concumbunt et palam.*

stabulis ab altis words from Vergil, describing a wood in *Aen.* 6.179 *stabula alta ferarum* and 10.723,[22] who reworked the expression *ferarum stabula* from Catullus (or just as well, according to Norden *ad Aen.* 6.179, from an archaic source). Probably, in VF the *mossunae*, or else Strabo's trees (see preceding note) are meant. There may be irony in the use of *alta*. Vergil's *stabula alta ferarum* conveys the notion of a *wild* tribe living in 'deep lairs', while these peoples in fact live in *high* towers; that is, the Mossynoeci as well as the Macrones are *both* denoted as living in *stabula alta*. For the Mossynoeci as *feri* see 152 n.

Macrones "Ils étaient déja cités par Hécatée, Hérodote et Xénophon, qui en fit les voisins des Colques" (Delage 180). The anonymous author of the *Perieg. Pont. Eux.* 37 speaks of Μάκρωνες ἤτοι Μακροκέφαλοι; the latter people is mentioned in Hippocrates, *Aer.* 35 as named after their habit of enlarging the skulls of their children by pressure, followed by a queer piece of Lamarckism. Identity with the Macrocephali is taken for granted by Herrmann, RE *s.v. Byzeres.*

152 Byzeres "Quant au Byzères, Hécatée et Skylax en faisaient mention avant Apollonios; Strabon les cite parmi les peuplades barbares des environs de Trapézonte; on les retrouve enfin chez les

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[22] As well as in the literal sense of 'a lofty stable' in *Aen.* 9.388, after Hom. *Od.* 14.5f. αὐλὴ/ ὑψηλή. *stabula alta* occur also in 2.548. Poortvliet *ad loc.* discusses the interpretation.

auteurs de périégèses" (Delage 181); cf. Mela 1.107 (after the Mossyni) *dein minus feri, . . . Buxeri* (corresponding to *Byzeri*).

vagi 'nomadic'; cf. Mela 2.11 *vagi Nomades pecorum pabula secantur*, Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.170f. *vagosque/ Sauromatos.*

Philyrae cf. Verg. *G.* 3.92f. *talis et ipse iubam cervice effundit equina/ coniugis adventu pernix Saturnus*; with Prob. *ad loc.*: *Saturnum Philyram, Oceani et Tethyos filiam, existimatur adamasse et, cum ea se mutasset in equam ut eum falleret, ille quoque in equum transfiguratus cum ea concubuit ex quibus natus est Chiron, doctissimus Centaurus*, Serv. *ad loc. cum amata Philyra Saturnus coiret, . . . uxor venit, . . . se in equum convertit*, to which Serv. Daniel. adds *cum ea coiret, advertante uxore se in equum, illam in equam convertit.* – There was a people and, accordingly, a region called Philyres. In ARh 2.1231–1241, an island of Philyra is mentioned, as well as the myth.

a nomine dicta Vergil has only *de nomine dicti*; however (TLL 5.1.977.26ff.), Varro and Cicero have *a* (cf. *Aen.* 3.335 *a Chaone dixit*, 6.234f.)

153 cornu pepulit on the horse's *cornu* cf. Verg. *G.* 3.88 *et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu*, Sil. 3.550 *dumque premit sonipes duro vestigia cornu. pellere cornu* is a combination not found elsewhere (TLL 4.967.49ff.), but *pellere* of the soil with *feet* is frequently associated with dancing, e.g. Catul. 61.14 *pelle humum pedibus*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.18.15f. *gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor/ ter pede terram*, Lucr. 5.1402 *terram pede pellere.* The word *pellere* may be short for *impellere*, as in *impellere manu*, *e.g. Aen.* 7.621, Ov. *Met.* 9.53.

b6. *154–176: Hercules in action*

Just before Colchis is reached the liberation of Prometheus by Hercules takes place (154–176). In book 4.60–81 the Gods have decided that Hercules, left behind by his fellow-Argonauts, will go all the same to the Caucasus, to end the ordeal of Prometheus. Korn 59: "Der Dichter hat mit dieser Erfindung die Absicht verfolgt, dass Hercules nach der Abfahrt der Argonauten nicht in beklagenswerter Verfassung aus der Handlung ausscheidet, sondern mit einem gewichtigen Götterauftrag frohgemut allein weiterzieht, nach dessen heroischer Ausführung er – dem Mythos des Helden gemäss – endgültig aus der Handlung der *Argonautica* ausscheidet (Vgl. Schetter 1959 S.305; Piot S.354ff.; Lüthje, S.137ff.)". Also in ARh 2.1246–1259 the Argonauts heard and saw the eagle, but that Hercules was so near escaped them altogether. That Hercules came at all to Colchis was part of

the tradition; cf. Theocr. *Id.* 13.75 πεζᾷ δ' ἐς Κόλχους τε καὶ ἄξενον ἵκετο Φᾶσιν. The Scholiast *ad* ARh 1.1289 gives various other versions of the myth. VF alludes to the fight of Hercules and Cacus (157, 160, 162) in *Aen.8*. Not understanding, the companions behold only some traces of the effort, in words again from *Aen.8*, now from the description of the shield.

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154. Ultimus inde sinus saevumque cubile Promethei
155. cernitur, in gelidas consurgens Caucasus Arctos.

154 ultimus . . . sinus the final coast line of Colchis.

cubile a cruel word for the rock Prometheus is chained to; cf. *Aen.* 9.715f. . . . *tremit durumque cubile/ Inarime Iovis imperiis imposta Typhoeo*, with as its model Hom. *Il.* 2.783 ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς, Sil. 6.373ff. *illuviem atque inopes mensas durumque cubile/ et certare malis urgentibus hoste putabat/ devicto maius* (Regulus).

Promethei with synizesis of *-ei*, as in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.42 *Caucasiasque refert volucris furtumque Promethei*, which 'reproduces normal post-homeric contraction in the Greek forms' (Coleman *ad loc.*). Other examples are Prop. 2.1.69f. *idem Caucasia solvet de rupe Promethei/ bracchia*, Sen. *Med.* 708f. *quae (sc. planta) fert opertis hieme perpetua iugis/ sparsus cruore Caucasus Promethei.* VF has the form *Phinei* in the same position at 4.425 and 5.127.

155 in gelidas consurgens Caucasus Arctos cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.19 *gelidas . . . ad Arctos.* The sense of – plural – *Arctos* in *Aen.* 6.16 *insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos* is that Daedalus is heading for the *North.* I believe that the present expression alludes rather to Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 721 ἀστρογείτονας δὲ χρὴ/ κορυφὰς (sc. Καύκασος) in pointing *upwards*, to the stars in the sky. The constellations are implied in Man. 1.275 *atque fulgentis caelum consurgit ad Arctos* (*i.e.*, the Pole). In fact Mozley combines the notions in his (free) translation 'where Caucasus rises in the cold Northern air'. *consurgere*, then, can stand for 'reaching high up to the stars' (cf. Mela 3.101 *Atlas, de se consurgens*), and Verg. *G.* 1.240f. *ut ad Scythiam Riphaeasque arduus arces/ consurgit.*[23] Interestingly Summers 17 concludes that VF knew the

[23] On the theme of being so high as to touch the stars, see Korn *ad* 4.148–149, Bömer *ad Met.* 7.61, Nisbet-Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.36. It is applied by Homer to Eris (*Il.* 4.443), by Sappho to the poetess herself, by Herodotus to Smerdis, by

Scholia on ARh, because *ad* ARh 1.941 Ἄρκτων μιν καλέουσιν ὄρος the Scholiast comments . . . ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸν τοῦ ὄρους, ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν ταῖς ἄρκτοις προσπελάζειν ταῖς ἀστρῴοις. On the possibility that VF was familiar with the Scholiae cf. F. Bessone, 'Valerio Flacco e l'Apollonio commentato: proposte', *M.D.* 26 (1991) 31–46 and 65 n.

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156. ille etiam Alciden Titania fata novantem
157. attulerat tum forte dies iamque aspera nisu
158. undique convellens veteris cum strage pruinae
159. vincula prensa manu saxis abduxerat imis
160. arduus et laevo gravior pede.

156 Alciden cf. 90 n.

Titania *Titan* is applied to the *son* of a Titan since Soph. *Oed. Col.* 56 and Eur. *Phoen.* 1122 Τιτὰν Προμηθεύς; often to the sun. VF uses *Titanius* frequently, referring to Circe, to the Sun, to Pyrrha, to Diana.

novantem Kramer, Courtney, and Ehlers printed the Mscr.'s *morantem*, 'thwarting his fate'. Parallels with *fata* (cf. TLL 8.1498.48ff.) are Luc. 7.460 *fati suprema morantem/. . . locum*, 'a piece of land delaying the final decision', Luc. 4.351 (Africanus speaking) *nil fata moramur* 'we make no attempt to hinder destiny' (Duff; it has nothing to do with the familiar expression *nil moror* 'I don't care'), and Sil. 5.75f. *heu vani monitus frustraque morantia Parcas/ prodigia.* Examples from poetry of *morari* as simply 'delaying' are *Aen.* 6.40f. *nec sacra morantur/ iussa viri*, 12.506 *haud multa morantem*, Luc. 10.203 *(sol) cursusque vagos (astrorum) statione moratur.* – Conjectures are three in number: *novantem* Eyssenhardt 1862, *moventem* Koch 1865, *levantem* Watt 1984. For *levantem*, Watt quotes Ovid (*Tr.* 4.10.112 *tristia quo possum carmine fata levo,/ et verbis aspera fata leves*, *Pont.* 3.6.14); the meaning 'making more tolerable' appears to fit. For *moventem* one can, of course, adduce the verses 21 and 88 from the present book; for that very reason, however, it looks rather too flat. This leaves us with *novantem* (certainly a Valerian word) for which Eyssenhardt gives no further arguments.

157 tum Langen pointed out that *tum* cannot belong to *attulerat*

Callimachus to Demeter; further Greek examples in Pease *ad Aen.* 4.177 (Fama). Pease refers to the modern notion 'skyscraper'. VF 4.149 says of Amycus *qui vertice nubila pulset.*

because of the subject *ille dies*; therefore 'in his boldness' VF seemed to link *tum* to *morantem/ novantem*. Leo (1897:958), on the other hand, took *tum* as specifying *dies*: 'that very day . . .', with a double temporal specification.

tum forte dies cf. *forte die . . . illo, Aen.* 8.102, of the arrival of Aeneas on the 12th August, the Festival of Hercules.

nisu fusing in its sense two OLD translations: 'with steps firmly planted' and 'with a strong muscular effort' cf. for the first *Aen.* 5.437 *stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem*, for the second *Aen.* 3.37f. *postquam maiore hastilia nisu/ adgredior. nisu* may refer to *Aen.* 8.237 *(hanc . . .) dexter in adversum nitens concussit* (Hercules fighting Cacus).

158/159 there is word music in the repetition of *-c, -c, -v, -v, -v, -pr, -pr*, as an indication of the effort; the word *strage* contributes to the effect.

158 convellens 'pulling violently (at the fetters)'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.296 *(sc. Eteocles) saevaque portarum convellit claustra*, Sen. *Her.O.* 1734f. *quique convulsam solo/ imposuit Ossan Enceladus ferox* (TLL 4.818.45). For the use of the verb *vellere* and compounds in the present scene, cf. 168.

veteris cum strage pruinae *(vetus) pruina* must mean 'frozen snow, ice', as in Verg. *G.* 3.368f. *stant circumfusa pruinis/ corpora magna boum*, where *pruinae* is poetic plural; it was used previously in the same context in VF 4.70f. *(Prometheus) saevis relevans ambusta pruinis/ lumina. vetus* may refer to perennial snow on the Caucasus (cf. Luc. 1.553f., quoted *ad* 174), as may Sen. *Med.* 708f. *opertis hieme perpetua iugis/; . . . Caucasus. strages* carries the notion of 'confused mass' (OLD 3); cf. Liv. 42.63.4 *ex ipsa ruinae strage congestis saxis.* To the commonplace of the description of frosty regions add Flor. *Epit.* 2.29 *(Sarmatae) nihil praeter nives pruinasque et silvas habent*, while Silius describes the Alps in Sil. 3.480ff. *ardua montis facies . . . surgentique obvia Phoebo duratas nescit flammis mollire pruinas.*

159 vincula cf. ARh 2.1248f.

prensa manu as in *Aen.* 3.624 (the cyclops mangling human bodies).

abduxerat he had loosened the fetters from the rocks, a peculiar use.

imis in a comparison with *infimus*, Löfstedt (Synt. 2:347) considers *imus* the more popular variant, of a type generally incorpo-

rated into poetry; yet Axelson 33f. notes its wider metrical applicability as another good reason.

160 arduus et cf. *Aen.* 10.196f. *minatur/ arduus et . . . sulcat maria* (the ship's figure-head). *arduus* may be derived from a passage about Hercules in *Aen.* 8.298f. *te . . . non terruit Typhoeus/ arduus arma tenens.* – The iuxtaposition of *imis* and *arduus* fids its counterpart in 163/164.

laevo gravior pede Langen concludes: *in gradu superiore stat pes dexter;* the action is visualized. In view of the references to Hercules's action in *Aen.8* the words *laevo pede* may be a variation on *dexter nitens, Aen.* 8.237.

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160. consonat ingens
161. Caucasus et summo pariter cum monte secutae
162. incubuere trabes abductaque flumina ponto.

160 consonat *Aen.* 5.148f. *tum plausu fremituque virum . . ./ consonat omne nemus.*

161 pariter cum . . . secutae '(trees), having followed simultaneously with the top of the mountain'; cf. *Aen.* 9.559 *Turnus pariter cursu teloque secutus.*

162 incubuere is said of winds upon land (Verg. *G.* 2.311, *Aen.* 12.367, Luc. 3.409), of seas on a coast (Curt. 6.4.19), with dative of falling upon (Prop. 4.7.81), in particular on a sword (OLD s.v. *incubare, incumbere)*; but absolutely of trees having tumbled to the ground is unique (TLL 7.1.1072.36: "*corruerunt*").

trabes for *trabs* = 'tree' cf. *Aen.* 9.87 *trabibusque obscurus acernis,* Ov. *Met.* 8.329 *silva frequens trabibus,* or VF 3.484.

abductaque flumina ponto (sc. sunt) *abducta* is suspected, because of *abduxerat* in 159. Delz (1991) has proposed *abrupta fragmina,* which makes sense, but seems fairly far removed from the transmitted text; Delz supposes *a/u* replacement, something like *framina, frumina, flumina,* with a change to *abducta* as a consequence. Such *fragmina* of a mountain are almost too easy for our author; but it is true that very near the passage quoted in 158 n., Sil. 3.469 says of the Durance *namque Alpibus ortus,/ avulsas ornos et adesi fragmina montis/ cum sonitu volvens,* . . . However, the phrase probably represents a variation on, *e.g., Aen.* 8.240 *refluitque exterritus amnis,* literally 'flows back'; the interpretation may be 'rivers re-routed back from the sea'. *Aen.* 9.125 is similar,

revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto, or Sil. 1.47 *sanguine Pergameo Trebia et stipantibus armis/ corporibusque virum retro fluat,* 4.444, 3.464, 13.743 *refluunt obstructi stragibus amnes,* with Spaltenstein *ad* 1.48 on the motif. – Hercules can do with his hands what Medea can with her witchcraft in 6.443 *mutat agros fluviumque vias,* with Langen and ARh 3.532.

*

163. fit fragor, aetherias ceu Iuppiter arduus arces
164. impulerit, imas manus aut Neptunia terras.
165. horruit immensum Ponti latus, horruit omnis
166. Armeniae praetentus Hiber penitusque recusso
167. aequore Cyaneas Minyae timuere relictas.

163 fit fragor as in 1.818, borrowing the words from Ov. *Met.* 1.269; cf. Bömer *ad Met.* 1.237: "*fit* am Versanfang kann eine stark erregende Wirkung haben, vor allem, wenn nach dem 1. Daktylus oder in der Trithemimeres eine Pause eintritt", as is the case here. Compare also Hercules's father at work in Ov. *Met.* 1.268f. *utque* **manu** *lata pendentia nubila* **pressit,**/ *fit fragor* (cf. *prensa manu* 159). *arces* is one in the list of poetic plurals in Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 15.495ff. The verse has flanking instances of alliteration, as has the following (*-tunia terras*); in addition, 165 has rhetoric anaphora. These remarkable lines cannot fail to make an impression on the reader.

aetherias . . . arces cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.858f. *Iuppiter arces/ temperat aetherias,* for the 'heavenly abode' *Culex* 42 *aetherias iam Sol penetrabat in arces,* Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.5 *aetheriamque suis cingens amplexibus arcem* (the Bears). For *aether* as 'heaven' cf. (Skutsch *ad* Enn. *Ann.* 545 = V531) Enn. *Euhem.* V104 = W74 *idque supra mundum erat, quod aether vocabatur, de sui avi (sc. Iuppiter) caelo . . . caelum nominavit,* Pacuv. 90 *id quod nostri caelum memorant, Graii perhibent aethera. aetherius* is largely poetic, based on αἰθέριος, already used by Aeschylus for 'in the air' (*Sept.* 81, *Prom. Vinct.* 158). It can be assumed that Jupiter is shaking (*impulerit,* 164) the *heaven* (with lightning) as Neptune down below in the earth (*imas terras,* 164) with the trident in his rôle as Ἐνοσίχθων.

ceu a word of the epic style, in prose since Seneca (TLL 3.977.62ff.).

Iuppiter arduus cf. *Aen.* 10.3f. *terras unde . . . arduus omnis/ aspectat (sc. Iuppiter). arduus* and *imas* (164) juxtaposed mirror 159/160, and emphasize the resemblance between Hercules and his father Jupiter.

164 Early editors altered the text to *manus aut imas Neptunia terras*, also printed by Carrio. Probably the alteration has been coined to create a long final syllable of *impulerit* (see below). It seems wiser to ignore the transposition.

impulerit has a final short syllable lengthened *in arsi*. Poortvliet *ad* 2.225 has an ample note on the subject with further literature. Vergil has over 50 occurrences, VF 10 according to Kösters 88. However, one of these is not recognized by Ehlers because it was found in codex **C** (7.633) and another is dubious even according to Kösters himself. Poortvliet added two more to the list, but questioned another two of them. (Interestingly, Poortvliet makes no mention of 7.633 from Carrio's **C**, the latter corrected by Taylor's astute and welcome conjecture *visus* and accordingly no longer appropriate on the list).

impulerit imas I prefer a comma between the two words, which links *imas* more clearly to *terras*; the comma has been printed by all recent editors except for Kramer and Ehlers.

aut *aut* postponed to the third position, also in 8.168; to the second position in 2.181, 4.103, 448, 5.453 (Langen *ad* 2.181, Brakl 72–74). TLL 2.1565.18ff. mentions only a small number of cases.

Neptunia the adjective earlier applied in *Aen.* 2.625 *Neptunia Troia*, Cic. *Arat.* 129 *Neptunia prata secantes* (where *Neptunia prata* renders κέλευθοι in Arat. *Phaenom.*, for 'the sea'), Pl. *Mil.* 413 *in locis Neptuniis* (= the sea). The *Neptunia manus* must wield the trident, as in Hom *Od.* 5.292 χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἑλών, *Od.* 4.506f. (Ποσειδάων) τρίαιναν ἑλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῇσιν/ ἤλασε Γυραίην πέτρην. In VF 1.194f. Neptune is addressed as *qui spumantia nutu/ regna quatis*.

165 Ponti latus *latus* as the coast of *land* is usual (TLL 7.2.1029.1ff.); cf. 102 n. As the coast of a *sea* it is only found in Mela (1.10, 1.18, 2.16) in the very combination *Ponticum latus*.

166/167 'the gulfs from the <rock->stricken sea, stirred to a great depth, make the Minyans think of the Cyanean rocks, long past; and they shudder'.

166 praetentus cf. *Aen.* 3.692 *Sicanio praetentus sinu . . . insula*; OLD 2a, 'to extend in front of', reflexive.

Hiber the tribesman stands for the country, *Iberia*, present day Georgia; cf. Treidler RE, suppl. 9.1899–1911. (H)iberia is mentioned by Horace in *Epod.* 5.21, and by VF in 5.559, 604. Milton

has some lines of impressive learning in *PR* 317f. (Satan tempting Christ) '(from) Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs/ of Caucasus and dark *Iberian dales*'.

recusso aequore the rare verb *recutere* (OLD 1: 'to strike so as to cause to vibrate') occurs only in *Aen.* 2.52 *uteroque recusso* (the wooden horse) and Stat. *Theb.* 7.20 *orbe recusso* (of a discus).

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168. tum gemitu propiore chalybs densusque revulsis
169. rupibus audiri montis labor et grave Titan
170. vociferans, fixos scopulis dum vellitur artus.

168 chalybs cf. Luc. 6.797 *aeternis chalybis nodis*; the model was classical, *viz.* Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 133 κτύπου γὰρ ἀχὼ χάλυβος; compare also VF 5.540 *namque virum trahit ipse chalybs.*

densus (montis labor) 'the continuous ordeal of the mountain'. *densus* could be translated 'repeated' (cf. 6.229 *densa dextra*), or 'concentrated, continuous', an extension of 'frequent', as in *Aen.* 5.459f. *densis ictibus heros/ creber utraque manu pulsat*, in the Entellus scene already referred to *ad* 157 *nisu*, Verg. *G.* 4.347 *densos divum numerabat amores.*

revulsis (ed. princ., for metrically impossible *pervulsis* **V** and **L**); cf. *convellens* (158), *vellitur* (170). *vellere* and its compounds are appropriate to Herculean force. *revellere* is frequent for 'to tear loose', the meaning necessary here; cf. *Aen.* 5.270 *e scopulo . . . revulsus*, or, applied to trees, Stat. *Ach.* 1.596f. *terraque revulsas/. . . trabes.* – For interchange of *re-* and *per-* Courtney refers in his edition to VF 1.516 where **V** has *perverberat*, changed in the later manuscripts to *reverberat;* (*'perverberare'* is not attested elsewhere in Latin).

169 audiri other occurrences of historic infinitives in the present book are 127 *petere*, *temnere*, 173 *pergere*, 267 *increpitare.* Schlicher 64 explains that its chief interest for the epic poets was as 'an expression of awe, horror, despair, and human helplessness', to which the present case fits nicely.

170 vociferans 5 times in *Aen.*, not in Ovid, Lucan, nor in Seneca's tragedies, in VF 5 times; of the 10 cases in Vergil and VF, 7 are in the first position in the verse, as here.

scopulis dum vellitur here is represented the actual unbinding of Prometheus, who by Κράτος βία τε and Hephaestus had been clamped to the crags ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις (Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 6).

vellitur artus accusative with passive verb: not infrequent in VF, Summers 43 lists 35 instances, among which some unusual cases, nearly all with perfect participles; *vellitur artus* is the odd one with finite verb. However, as Summers adds: '1.491, *compressus pectore tigres*, if right, would beat them all'. (There is no reason, in fact, to doubt the text.)

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171. contra autem ignari (quis enim nunc credat in illis
172. montibus Alciden dimissave vota retemptet?)
173. pergere iter socii. tantum mirantur ab alto
174. litora discussa sterni nive ruptaque saxa
175. et simul ingentem moribundae desuper umbram
176. alitis atque atris rorantes imbribus auras.

171 contra autem Axelson (85f.) calls the combination "formelhaft". VF and Silius, like Vergil, have *autem* fairly frequently in the position after *ecce, ille, ipse, quid, quis, contra.* On the basis of this limitation *autem* is rather an 'unpoetic word', (only) increasing the adversative force; its use in *Aen.* 8.711 (to introduce a contrasting description on the shield) *(Ignipotens fecerat)/ contra autem . . . Nilum* suggests that in the present verse a stage-scene is described (of *Prometheus Devinctus*?), as if the Argonauts played their part there. The combination *contra autem* is also found in VF at 6.248 (a new scene) and 5.599 (the next section in a dialogue). The adverb *contra* in isolation opens a phrase in 5.263 (referring to the next scene), as well as 5.541 and 5.581 (in a dialogue).

ignari a fairly frequent word in Virgil (30 times), as well as in VF (12 times); cf. *Aen.* 8.730 *(Aeneas) miratur rerumque ignarus.*

quis enim nunc credat Hercules has come to Colchis πεζῇ, whereas the Argonauts sailed (see introd. 154–176).

172 vota refers to 3.601 *illum omnes . . . reposcere votis.*

retemptet construe as *quis credat Alciden esse in montibus, aut quis Minyarum vota dimissa retemptet* ('would renew wishes he had already given up').

173 pergere historic infinitive; cf. 169 *audiri*, of which it is a continuation.

tantum mirantur for *mirari* cf. *Aen.* 8.730, Aeneas admiring the shield, in the same association with *ignari* (171). The verb occurs

frequently in *Aen.8*, in the context of the fight between Hercules and Cacus (91, 92), as well as in 310.

174 discussa for *discutere* 'to scatter' cf. Luc. 9.977f. *discussa iacebant/ saxa*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.30 *discusso . . . ponto* ('brine'); with *nix* also in Luc. 1.553 *veteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes/ discussere nivem*, Sen. *Oed.* 175f. *bis Cadmeum/ nive discussa tremuisse nemus* (both by prodigious tremblings). Differently Caes. *Gal.* 7.8.2 *discussa nive*, where the snow is thawing; cf. Plin. Nat. 18.315 *ros . . . sole discutiatur.* The sense must be that as a result of Hercules's efforts the snows of Caucasus are littering the beaches – a tremendous hyperbole.

175 moribundae A list of words ending in *-bundus* is found in Korn *ad* 4.180. *moribundus* also occurs in 6.273; 6 times in Vergil, once in Lucan, 5 times in Statius, 4 times in Silius (data from Pianezzola 187).

176 The line contains about as many *-r*'s as: 'hoary horror'.

alitis in ARh, where no rescue by Hercules is witnessed, the eagle is seen flying near the clouds without being wounded. In the present section there may be more influence of Aeschylus's *Prometheus Devinctus* than we can possibly know, because the text was still extant in the time of VF; Plutarch is still quoting from that play (Plut. *Amat.* 14 (757D) ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἕτερον θεὸν παρακαλεῖ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρνιν αἵρεσθαι τὸ τόξον ὥς Ἀισχύλος φησίν· Ἀγρεὺς δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν ἰθύνοι βέλος = frg. Radt 200). In that tradition apparently Apollo is helping Heracles. – On the authority of Pherecides, Typhon and Echidna were the parents of the eagle (Scholiast on ARh 2.1248–1250); cf. ὄντα Ἐχίδνης καὶ Τυφῶνος (Apollod. 2.5.11). Accordingly the eagle is in writers from Hellenistic times onwards a symbol of infernal powers (Piot 357).

atris rorantes imbribus auras cf. 5.76 *rorantes sanguine.* For blood dripping from the bird's tail (be it there blood of the liver of Prometheus, spread over the feathers) compare Cicero's verse translation of *Prometheus Devinctus* (*Tusc.* 2.24.4–6):

tum iecore opimo farta et satiata adfatim
clangorem fundit vastum et sublime avolans
pinnata cauda nostrum adulat sanguinem.

– The word *imber* can be used metaphorically for a rain of weapons (cf. 608 n.), of hail, of gold (Danae), of stones, or of blood (TLL 7.1.422.60ff.); cf. Luc. 6.224 and Stat. *Theb.* 12.603f. *cruento imbre,*

Theb. 7.408 *nunc sanguineus, nunc saxeus imber*, Petronius 122:140 *sanguineo descendit Iuppiter imbre.* In VF 6.685 *imber* stands for snow. For *rorantes imbribus auras* compare the similar metrical structure of 5.414 *rorantes crinibus ignes.*

C. *177–216. Arrival in Colchis*

After four books of travel and adventures Colchis is reached. The river Phasis is described and addressed. At the end of section 1–216 words return (214) reminiscent of some at the start (9), forming a ring composition. This indicates that that section functions as a recapitulation of the 'Odyssey part' (in the special sense of 'beyond the everyday world'), serving to introduce the highly fantastic world of Aeetes.

Frank has pointed to the correspondence with the prayer to Neptune (for a safe crossing of the sea) of 1.194ff., which is in the same way followed by a libation.

Compare Adamietz 66–68, Shey 141f., Shelton 271–274, Lüthje 195–197.

c.1. *177–193: The Phasis*

The river Phasis is sailed up by the Argonauts in the evening. In ARh the Argonauts arrive in the night (ἐννύχιοι, 2.1260); Aeneas sees the Tiber in early morning (*Aen.* 7.25). Here is a funeral monument to Phrixus, where the ship is moored. Meanwhile Iuno and Pallas step off their vehicle. Verbal resemblances to *Aen.7* are scarce (*agger* 186); more frequent are correspondences with *Aen.8*. Some of these may have been consciously modelled upon the arrival of Aeneas at the site of future Rome; others may have crept in after the author's perusal of *Aen.8* for the Hercules scene 154–176. The corresponding verses in ARh are 2.1259–1270.

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177. Sol propius flammabat aquas extremaque fessis
178. coeperat optatos iam lux ostendere Colchos,
179. magnus ubi adversum spumanti Phasis in aequor
180. ore ruit.

177 flammabat aquas transitive *flammare* can be interpreted as 'to set aglow, giving a blazing reflection' (TLL 6.1.873.82ff., as otherwise only in some very late authors); an oxymoron may be involved,

more or less in the way Silius has the air kindled in 14.209 *hinnitibus aera flammat* (sc. *equorum turba*), the more so in view of VF 1.568 *flammantem nubila facem.*

extremaque fessis (. . . **lux ostendere**) contains in its hyperbaton a special tension suggesting for a moment extreme difficulties or their last days for the Argonauts, as in (TLL 5.2.2006.75ff.) *Aen.* 1.218f. *seu vivere . . . sive extrema pati.*

178 Colchis *Colchi* for the country is about as frequent in VF as *Colchis.*

179 because *adversum* can be considered an adjective (the adverb is early, Plautine), this is one of the infrequent golden lines; see 79 n. Phasis, 'meeting the sea', has a collar of foam before its mouth. The image appears to be derived from ARh 2.984 (about the Thermodon) Πόντον ἐς Ἄξεινον κυρτὴν ὑπερεύγεται ἄχνην.

magnus sometimes rivers are called 'big', as in Lucr. 1.296f. *aemula magnis/ amnibus.* Thomas *ad* Verg. *G.* 3.28f. (where *magnum* is adverbial) refers to Herodot. 2.25. In the present case *magnus* may be derived from *Prometheus Devinctus* fragm. Radt 191 πῇ μὲν δίδυμον χθονὸς Εὐρώπης/ μέγαν ἠδ' Ἀσιάς τέρμονα Φᾶσιν/. . . . Burman considers *magnus* as representing ARh 2.1261 Φᾶσίν τ' εὐρὺ ῥέοντα.

spumanti (ore) cf. *Aen.* 12.372 *spumantia frenis/ ora . . . equorum.* Subtly Virgil's foam on a horse's bit and the surf's foam are combined into one picture. *spumantia regna* (1.194f.) are Neptune's.

Phasis according to Pliny (*Nat.* 6.12 *clarissimusque Ponti Phasis*) the river, present day Rion, was navigable for 40 miles upwards from the mouth (Plin. *Nat.* 6:13). The note in Burman on Phasis and rivers in general is a delightful display of erudition. – VF gives the river the following epithets: *rigens* (1.43), *barbarus* (1.518), *remotus* (3.306), *altus* (3.501), *Scythicus* (1.2). Manilius speaks 5.144f. of *altum videre Phasin*; Ovid (*Met.* 7.6) of *rapidas limosi Phasidos undas.*[24]

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180. cuncti pariter loca debita noscunt
181. signaque commemorant emensasque ordine gentes
182. dantque ratem fluvio. simul aethere frena corusco
183. Pallas et alipedum Iuno iuga sistit equorum.

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[24] Bömer *ad loc.* calls the epithets stereotypes: the Phasis carries much alluvial mud (cf., *e.g.*, Strabo 1.3.7 = C52), and accordingly can only be *rapidus* in spring.

180 loca debita see 21 n.; more specifically cf. *Aen.* 7.120 *salve fatis mihi debita tellus.*

noscunt *noscere,* OLD 'to ascertain to be a thing that one has previous knowledge of', as in, *e.g. Aen.* 6.809 *nosco crinis.* VF contrasts the verb with *commemorare* (181), OLD 'to recall: usually to someone else', that is, to remind each other of something.

181 signa ('diagnostics'): not mentioned by Phineus in 4.616; possibly those of ARh. 2.1262ff., steep Caucasus and Aea on the left, on the right the plain of Ares with the Fleece's grove. They do not at once see Gloria (VF 1.77) standing *Phasidis in ripa,* nor fly pheasants around, as expected on the basis of Petr. 93 *ales Phasiacis petita Colchis.* However, they in fact see that *geminae virentibus arae/ stant tumulis* (2.598f.)

commemorant see note above on *noscunt,* 180.

emensasque the perfect participle of *emetiri* is used indiscriminately in active or in passive sense; *e.g.* active *Aen.* 5.628, 11.244, passive VF 5.181, Verg. *G.* 1.450; *Aen.* 7.160 *iamque iter emensi* may be a significant parallel.

ordine gentes merely for the choice of words cf. *Aen.* 8.722 *incedunt victae longo ordine gentes.* The list of peoples passed may be one of the *signa* that they now have reached Colchis.

182 dantque ratem fluvio Can this be *dare* for *mandare* (*commendare, i.e.* trustfully)? In the latter sense TLL 5.1.1695.24ff. only gives Ov. *Met.* 6.496ff. *hanc/.../ do tibi,* though *Aen.* 5.796f. *oro, liceat dare tuta per undas/ vela tibi* is another example. I feel this comes closer than, *e.g.*, '= *intrant*' (J.A. Wagner). The wording here may bring to mind *dare vela ventis* (*Aen.* 4.546, 8.708, Ov. *Met.* 1.132); however, in these cases one lets the ship sail *before* the wind, while, by contrast, the Argo is running counter-current.

aethere ... corusco *aether* as the residence of the Gods is mentioned in Vergil (*Aen.* 4.574 *deus aethere missus ab alto*), but is ultimately derived from Homer *Il.* 2.412 Ζεῦ! ... αἰθέρι ναίων! In the present context the sense of the word *aether* should have to be 'splendour, brilliancy' as long as *plena* Mss. is maintained because it is in the need of an ablative; this interpretation would be an isolated one (TLL 1.1151.82). Therefore it is better to follow Köstlin, recently supported by Delz (1991:12), in preferring *frena* to *plena.* The two goddesses are known to follow the ship's movements from the aether: cf. 1.91 *deae celerique per aethera lapsu ...,* 3.487 *Iuno poli summo de vertice puppem/ ... videt.*

coruscus used of *fulgur* (Lucr. 5.295), *lumen* (Lucr. 6.283), *fervor* (Lucr. 6.237), *sol* (Verg. *G.*1.233), *flamma* (*ibid.* 2.172), *ignis* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.6 = Fast. 6.635), *fulmen* (VF 6.55), *ira Iovis* (7.567); in the context of *aether* in Sen. *Phaedr.* 889 *coruscum lucis aetheriae iubar (= Phoebus).*

frena Delz (1991:12) has recently revived Köstlin's *frena* for *plena* Mss. on which see above. For *plenus* with ablative see Sz. 77.

183 Pallas et... Iuno the same goddesses riding in a chariot are described in Hom. Il. 5.720ff.:

720 ἡ μὲν ἐποιχομένη χρυσάμπυκας ἔντυεν ἵππους 721 Ἥρη·

731 ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη 732 ἵππους ὠκύποδας; cf. 182 n. (*aethere*).

With respect to the rôle of the pair of goddesses in the story up to now Jason was in 1.73 *Iunone et Pallade fretus*; they are invoked as tutelar deities in 1.215 by Mopsus. In 3.487 Juno sees *poli summo de vertice* Hylas leaving the ship and manages to send Pallas away; in 4.682 they both come *ex aethere* at the Cyanean rocks, in 5.280 they have a conference in the night. Medea is aware of their support as she gives a higher profile to her own assistance by asking *ubi Iuno, ubi nunc Tritonia virgo*? in 7.442. In 8.318 Juno *summo sedet aethere,* 322 *subit terras,* as Athena does in ARh 2.538.

When Juno and Pallas re-assume in ARh the rôle of succouring national heroes which they played in the *Iliad*, to my mind they are invoked as the typical gods of the urban aristocracy, the establishment. Athena was already in Mycenaean times the citadel goddess, as such of civilization *tout court.* Juno may rather represent the father of Gods. Jupiter is himself bound to be unfactional and universal. But strongly emotional Juno, although nearly almighty as both his sister and his wedded wife (1.81 *omnipotens regina,* 7.428 *omnipotens Saturnia*), can afford to take sides. Burkert 133 ascribes to her, Homer's πότνια Ἥρη (passim), and Jupiter's sister 'equality of birth'.

In ARh 3.54 Venus addresses the goddesses (mockingly) ἐπεὶ περίεστε θεάων.

alipedum a poetic word (TLL 1.1597.43), applied to a stag in Lucr. 6.765, normally used for horses by Vergil, Ovid. The word is a favourite in the *Thebaid* (8 cases) and used once more by VF in 5.611. Although one would readily postulate a Greek source for the word, in fact only one (late) example is found, *Anth.(Plan).* 234 Ἑρμῆς ὁ πτερόπους. Rather, it is a variation upon Homer's ὠκύποδας (see former note).

Iuno scans as a spondee; see 123 n.

iuga for a team of horses (*e.g. Aen.* 5.147), or for the chariot itself (often, TLL 7.2.640.44ff., for the Sun's chariot).

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184. Ac dum prima gravi ductor subit ostia pulsu
185. populeos flexus tumulumque virentia supra
186. flumina cognati medio videt aggere Phrixi
187. quem comes infelix Pario de marmore iuxta
188. stat soror, hinc saevae formidine maesta novercae,
189. inde maris, pecudique timens imponere palmas.

184 subit ostia cf. *Aen.* 5.281 *subit ostia* in the same position in the line. The present move is anticipated in 2.597 (Helle prophesying) *verum dabit ostia Phasis.*

pulsu of oars; cf. Caes. *Gal.* 3.13.7 *pulsu remorum*, Sil. 14.487f. *ipse adeo senis ductor Rhoeteius ibat/ pulsibus* ('banks of oars'). In various contexts the word occupies the same final position of the hexameter, in *Aen.* 12.533, Luc. 1.629, 10.480, Stat. *Theb.* 4.726, *Ach.* 1.622, *Silv.* 1.1.63.

185 populeos flexus Because of Langen's interpretation *populi in orbe consitae* the text has provoked numerous objections in spite of the following parallels for *flexus* as 'circle' from TLL 6.1.911.20: Luc. 9.455f. *et non imbriferam . . . nubem/ in flexum violentus agit*, Sil. 4.317f. *aut illi dextros lunatis flexibus orbes,/ aut illi laevos sinuant in cornua gyros.* However, *populeos flexus* need not be 'poplars in circles'; *flexus* can mean 'bends, meanderings' of a river (see below), and *populeus* may refer to 'rows of poplars', in view of Luc. 2.410f. *hunc (= Padum) fabula primum/ populea fluvium ripas umbrasse corona.* Possibly Jason glides into the river-mouth, sees in the wide alluvial plain 'the poplar-seamed bendings' of the Phasis, and before his eyes on the bank Phrixus's funeral monument. Relevant references are Sen. *Med* 211 *quodcumque placidis flexibus Phasis rigat*, or *Aen.* 8.95 *et longos superant flexus* (of the Tiber); further Verg *G.* 3.14f. *tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat/ Mincius*, Sil. 9.227f. *sinuat qua flexibus undam/ Aufidus.*

VF often rather seems the conventional poet, who simply cannot speak of a tomb except as surrounded by funeral trees, but in that situation evergreens would be more likely.[25] The epithet *populeus* seems

[25] cf. *Aen.* 3.64 *(arae) maestae atraque cupressos*, 6.216f. *feralis . . . cupressos/ constituunt*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.5.29–31 *en taxea marcet/ silva comis, hilaresque hederas plorata cupressus/ excludit*

to be associated with the Phasis, in view of Aquites, priest of the Phasis, being described as follows (6.296f.), *populeus cui frondis honor conspectaque glauco/ tempora nectuntur ramo.* The rivergod Tiber in *Aen.* 8.32 rises from his stream *populeas... inter frondes*; compare also the Mincius as *velatus harundine glauca* (10.205). The only other occurrence of *flexus* in VF (8.377) also refers to *bends* (branches, as is typical for a river delta) of the Danube. Ovid coined *populifer* to describe the Sperchios or Spercheus (*Met.* 1.579; cf. Bömer ad loc. for poplars on a river as a *topos*) and the Padus (*Am.* 2.17.32).[26]

There is influence of *Aen.8* in the present scene; the word *populeus* is used in *Aen.* 8.32 *populeas... frondes*) in connection with the Tiber, the *flexus* are found in *Aen.* 8.95 (quoted above) of the Tiber, followed by (96) *viridisque secant... silvas*, possibly a model for the *virentia flumina* (185/186).

virentia cf. Verg. *G.* 4.18. *stagna virentia musco*; see also preceding note.

supra for 'on the banks of' (OLD 1b) is apparently a late development; OLD cites Ampelius (AD 2nd cent.) 11.3 *supra flumen Euphraten.*

186 golden line; cf. 79 n.

medio... aggere 'in the midst of the river-bank'; the expression, in the same metrical position, occurs in *Aen.* 5.113 ('from the midst of a mound'). For *agger* as 'river-bank' cf. *Aen.* 7.106 *gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem*, Ov. *Met.* 14.445 *solvitur herboso religatis ab aggere funis*, *Tr.* 3.9.13 *dum solvitur aggere funis*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.230f. *magno fragore solutus/ agger* (of the Ismenos), Sil. 6.396f. *aggere* (of the Tiber) *consul tendebat dextram*, 10.92 *flumineo in aggere.*

187 quem... iuxta *quem* can refer to *tumulum* or to Phrixus, but in view of *stat soror* the latter is more likely. The whole scene has been interpreted in various ways. Apparently the *soror* is in marble, which can only refer to a funeral monument, while on Phrixus's tomb one expects Phrixus himself as well. Helle fears on one side her stepmother Ino, on the other the sea, where the ram patiently waits for her. Such an elaborate sculpture would fit Helle's own 'cenotaph'

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ramis; Ov. *Tr.* 3.13.21 *funeris ara mihi, ferali cincta cupressu.* For the poplar as funeral tree (possibly one of its connotations in view of *tumulum*) cf. 10 n.; *populeus* is applied to Phaeton's sisters in 5.429.

[26] The Dutch poet H. Marsman (1899–1940) spoke of alluvial Holland in similar words, where he saw 'broad rivers gliding through a limitless plain, rows of thin

(198); whether this is situated next to Phrixus's statue, or next to Phrixus's tomb on which the statue is placed, is of academic interest. The wide hyperbaton of *quem* and *iuxta* is remarkable.

Pario de marmore *pavo* **V+L** has given rise to several conjectures, of which *parvo, puro, pario* carry most conviction. Schenkl 1871:306 shows that Claudius Marius Victor(ius) (AD 5th cent.) in his *Commentarii in Genesin* (= *Alethia*) fairly often cites from our author, and has in 3.138 *Pario de marmore,* which could be interpreted as supporting *pario. Parius* is not seldom applied to marble, Verg. *G.* 3.34 *Parii lapides, Aen.* 1.593 *Pariusve lapis,* Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.6 *Pario marmore purius,* Sen. *Phaedr.* 797 *lucebit Pario marmore clarius,* and used by VF in 2.466f. *Pariusve . . ./. . . lapis.*

188 hinc . . . (inde) 'on the one side, on the other'; the combination of these adverbs is a late development, not occurring in Vergil or Ov. *Met.*, 5 times in Luc., thrice in VF, occasionally in later poets, Tacitus and later prose (TLL 6.3.2804.76).

saevae . . . novercae on *noverca* cf. 43 n. For the *iunctura* cf. Verg. *G.* 2.128.

189 pecudique VF's examples of *pecus, pecudis* comprise 6 cases in the singular, referring to one animal, normally the ram. Three in the plural refer to sacrificial animals, with the meaning 'each of the victims', one by one. *Pecus, pecoris* is used for 'cattle', or 'the herd' as a collective word; however, once the ram is indicated (1.56).

*

190. sistere tum socios iubet atque prima ligari
191. vincula, ceu Pagasas patriumque intraverit amnem.
192. ipse gravi patera sacri libamina Bacchi
193. rite ferens umbram vocat et sic fatur ad aras:

190 ligari (vincula) *ligare* referring to the mooring of a ship in Prop. 3.7.19 *tibi . . . ad saxa ligata . . ./. . . detrito vincula fune cadunt,* Luc. 8.61f. *iam fune ligato/ litoribus lustrat vacuas Pompeius harenas.*

191 vincula for 'mooring ropes', cf. *Aen.* 10.233 *rupimus . . . vincula,* following Hom. *Od.* 13.100 ἔντοσθεν δέ τ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι (in the harbour of the nymphs' cave in Ithaca).

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poplars as tall plumes filling the horizon' (*Denkend aan Holland zie ik brede rivieren/ traag door oneindig laagland gaan,/ rijen ondenkbaar ijle populieren/ als hoge pluimen aan den einder staan*).

Pagasas *Pagasae* (also in 8.451), in the Thessalian district of Magnesia, home base of the Argo, is mentioned in ARh 1.238 and 1.411; the derived adjective *pagaseia*, taken from ARh (*e.g.*, 1.318 λιμὴν Παγασήιος), occurs once, in 1.422; latinized *pagasaea* thrice, *e.g.* in 5.435.

patriumque amnem cf. 134 n. Iason seems to feel 'at home'.

192 sacri . . . Bacchi the combination not in Verg., Hor., Ov., Sen. (Trag.), Stat.; however, cf. Sen. *Thy.* 687 *sacer Bacchi liquor* (OLD 6: of the attributes of various gods, not applied to themselves).

libamina from ARh 2.1271f. Αἰσονίδης χρυσέῳ ποταμόνδε κυπέλλῳ/ οἴνου ἀκηρασίοιο μελισταγέας χέε λοιβάς. In the same vein Verg. *G.* 2.192 *hic laticis, qualem pateris libamus*, *Aen.* 3.354f. *libabunt pocula Bacchi . . . paterasque tenebant*, *Aen.* 5.775f.

193 umbram see 53 n.

c2. *194–216: Prayer to Phrixus and Phasis*

Jason addresses Phrixus and Helle, forests and shores; as well as Phasis, asking them to further his aims. The ship turns round of its own accord, which is taken as a promise of safe return. The book's first half ends in an evening meal on the banks of the river. – The corresponding lines in ARh are 2.1271–1285.

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194. per genus atque pares tecum mihi, Phrixe, labores,
195. tu precor orsa regas meque his tuteris in oris
196. tot freta, tot dura haec referentia sidera passum.
197. Phrixe, fave et patrias placidus reminiscere terras.
198. tu quoque nunc, tumulo nequiquam condita inani
199. adnue, diva maris, numeroque accede tuorum.

194 The line reminds of *Aen.* 1.628f. *me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores/ iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.*

pares tecum *par cum* is not frequent, but classical though prosaic (Cic., Sall., Liv.); probably *pares tecum* is used as if it were *communes tecum* (prosaic). *pares* refers to *genus atque labores* both.

Phrixe The story of Phrixus has been told by Orpheus in 1.278ff.; whether the present prayer represents a reference to Orpheus's song (considered by Frank one of the correspondences between book

1 and book 5) is not so obvious. Another allusion is to Helle's speech in 2.592ff., where she commands Iason to address (the shade of) Phrixus with a message. (According to the Homeric pattern, such divine words would be repeated literally where appropriate.) Poortvliet (1991b) supports Summers in considering the present case, where the author seems to have forgotten delivering a message, as one of the proofs of the unfinished state of the *Argonautica*. But Lüthje 196 had already concluded that the shade of Phrixus can now hear for himself his sister being addressed as *diva maris*, so that he no longer needs to *frustra vacui scrutari Averni vias*.

196 tot freta, tot . . . sidera passum cf. *Aen.* 5.627f. *cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa/ sideraque emensae ferimur*; further *Aen.* 6.58f. *(Phoebe,) magnas obeuntia terras/ tot maria intravi duce te*, 10.56 *tot maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae*. The whole phrase has some words in common with Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.47 *tot mala sum passus, quot in aethere sidera lucent*.

dura haec referentia The reading of **V** and **L** is *tot durae properanti sidera passum*; *durae properanti* has been obelized in Ehlers and Courtney. Several solutions have been proposed. Carrio read in **C** *tot dure properantia sidera passis/ Phrixe fave*, and added dryly *et ita a Poeta scripta est*.

In the verse *tot* and *sidera* are retained by all scholars; *durae* or *dure* has been changed to *brumae* Ellis, 1880 (followed by Langen, Mozley), *cursu* Jacobs, Thilo, *pura* Baehrens, *duce te* Burman. *passum* is being replaced by *passo, passis* (dependent on *fave*); *properantia* was read already before Carrio by Pius, Ehlers tentatively suggested that *brumae properantis* might save the situation. More extensive substitutions are *dudum te propter, totque adeo te propter, tot terras, tot inhospita* Heinsius. Most ingenious is the conjecture of Sudhaus (*in* Kramer) *tot durae properantia sidera brumae/ passum*, filling the lacuna in the next line; parallels for 'stars of the harsh winter time' are Ov. *Pont.* 2.4.25 *brumali sidere*, as quoted by Ellis, Stat. *Theb.* 4.653, *Silv.* 4.1.24 *sidera brumae*.

If one does not accept Sudhaus's transfer of *passum* to line 197 (on which see 197 n. *placidus*), I propose with much hesitation to read *dura haec* instead of *durae*, and *referentia* instead of *properanti(a)*. After loss of the final *-c*, *dura hae* can easily have been corrupted to *durae*;[27]

[27] VF uses *dura* as a neuter substantive in 4.35 *in duris haud umquam defice*, 7.95 *iussa pati nec cedere duris*. The same usage is found (TLL 5.1.2307.19ff.) in Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.141 *animum. . . . dura ferentem*, Ov. *Met.* 9.545 *ego dura tuli*; Prop. 1.15.1 *saepe ego*

creferentia in the same way by single-letter alteration or mis-reading to *creperentia*, *creperantia* or *croperentia*, and finally[28] to *properantia*. Line 196 would then read as follows:

tot freta, tot dura haec referentia sidera passum.

For *dura . . . referentia sidera* cf. Man. 2.863 *poenam referentia sidera*, *Aen.* 11.183 *(Aurora) extulerat lucem referens opera atque labores*; for *referre* in the sense of 'to bring about', 'to bring along', cf., with a sign of the Zodiac, Sen. *Thy.* 863f. *pigram referens hiemem gelidus/ cadet Aegoceros*, or Stat. *Theb.* 1.341 *(Somnus) grata laboratae referens oblivia vitae.* With regard to the unusual pattern of an accusative participle itself governing another object cf., *e.g.*, *Aen.* 6.58f. (quoted above) *obeuntia terras/ tot maria*, or from our author 5.431f. *Tethys . . . recolligit/. . . formidantem patrios Pyroenta dolores.* For words ending in *-ia* before *sidera* in this position in the hexameter cf. below on *sidera*. *properantia sidera* without *brumae* seems rather pointless. (By contrast, in the same position in the hexameter, the word has something to say in Calp. Sic. 2.15 *et tenuere suos properantia flumina cursus.*) – For *haec* referring to 'things of the past still haunting us' see for instance 1.531 *vetera haec.*

sidera I do not take *sidera* for 'the weather' itself, as Burman did, comparing Verg. *G.* 1.311 *quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam?*. I prefer to interpret the latter verse as 'storm and weather-signs'. Conington/Nettleship comment *ad Aen.* 5.627: '*sidera* seems to combine the notions of the stars as the chart for sailing and as the harbingers of weather'. VF's 'stars' bringing about the vicissitudes of life are the signs of the Zodiac; cf. VF 4.93 *bisseno sidere*, Luc. 4.57 *sidera respiciens delapsae portitor Helles*. For the signs of the Zodiac (*sidera*, *astra*) as a direct cause of disaster cf. *Aen.* 4.519f. *conscia fati/ sidera*, Luc. 5.204f. *et adhuc dubitantibus astris/ Pompei damnare caput tot fata tenentur?* or 6.607ff.

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multa tuae levitatis dura timebam, Liv. 33.11.6 *dura atque aspera belli*, Sen. *Oed.* 208 *laeta duris mixta*, *Phaedr.* 464 *viri dura tolerent*, Luc. 9.403 *gaudet patientia duris*. A parallel for *haec* with substantival adjective in the neuter plural is 1.531f. *vetera haec. . . . . et condita . . ./ . . . cuncta. . . ./ fixa manent*; cf. 1.114f. and 7.71 *haec iussa*, 7.503 *haec promissa*. *haec* essentially refers back, 'as mentioned just now'; I consider it to take up *labores* (194).

The word *haec* is in Vergil and VF frequently involved in elision: with *-a* in Vergil *ipsa Ecl.* 1.39, *illa Aen.* 6.512, *propria* 6.871, *sacra* 8.172; with *-a* in VF 3.714 *tumida* (fourth arsis), 7.333 *effugia* (second arsis), 8.346 *prima* (fourth arsis), and 1.531 *tum genitor: 'vetera haec nobis et condita pergunt'* in the third arsis as here.

[28] Some of these steps can have taken place simultaneously. The changes from *crep-* to *prop-* seem to involve a number of minor alterations; yet, according to TLL 4.999.63–66, *corp-oreus* and *pect-oreus* are often found interchanged in mediaeval manuscripts, and something similar with *c-* and *p-* may have happened.

conceditur arti,/ unam cum radiis presserunt sidera mortem,/ inseruisse moras; cf. also the Stoic vision of Manilius in 1.52 *sideribus . . . pendentia fata.*

sidera often occurs preceded by a participle in the neuter plural, as in VF 7.499 *perque haec, virgo, tuo redeuntia sidera nutu, Aen.* 5.528 *transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt,* 2.9 and 4.81 *suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,* 6.850 *surgentia sidera dicent,* Ov. *Am.* 1.8.11 *sanguine siqua fides stillantia sidera vidi.* For the position in the verse of *sidera,*[29] as well as for the participle ending in *-ia,* compare also Manilius, just from book 1 alone: 427 *fugientia sidera colles,* 529 *pendentia sidera caelo,* 805 (after 538) *pugnantia sidera mundo,* 560 *surgentia sidera luce,* 652 *fulgentia sidera ponto,* 670 *luctantia sidera mundo,* 683 *labentia sidera cursu.* Accordingly *referentia sidera passum* is consistent with first century Latin.

passum for *pati* with object cf., *e.g. Aen.* 1.5 *multa quoque et bello passus,* 10.162 *quae passus terraque marique,* 1.232 *quibus tot funera passis,* 7.200 *qualia multa mari nautae patiuntur in alto,* Stat. *Ach.* 2.10f. *ceu numquam Scyrica passus/ litora.* Compare in addition Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.47 quoted *ad* 196 *tot freta.*

197 fave (Mss.) has been changed to *fove* by Pius, and Heinsius supported this, since he read *passum,* which could depend upon *fove,* but not upon *fave.* However, *fave* can be considered a part of a new phrase, as the punctuation shows; for the absolute use of *fave,* albeit without *et,* there are several parallels, Tib. 2.5.1, Prop. 4.1.67, Ov. *Fast.* 4.1, 6.249.

patrias Shelton 272 emphasizes that Phrixus's Greek solidarity is appealed to.

placidus C to fill the lacuna was one of those readings from C labeled by the critical mind of Schenkl as "ganz trefflich" (1871, 330). One may ask whether Sudhaus's elegant proposal to continue his emendation of line 196 and start the present verse with *passum* (resulting in *me . . . tot durae properantia sidera brumae/ passum. Phrixe, fave et patrias reminiscere terras*) is as good as *placidus.* The latter carries the Ms. authority that *brumae* lacks, because *placidus* was explicitly stated by Carrio to come from his *vetus codex.* I feel that only when a parallel presents itself as the possible model for copying may a conjecture made to fill a lacuna claim to restore the author's wording. In

[29] A dactylic word like *sidera* is to be expected in the dactyl of the fifth foot, but may a priori occur in other feet just as well. Yet, *sidera* (*sidere*) in VF occupies the fifth foot in 16 out of 20 cases, which compares well with Vergil (62/70), Lucan (25/37), and Statius (43/61). Ovid has more variation: 38/87.

my conjecture offered in line 196 no new words were introduced, only letters changed; it may perhaps allow us to remove the obeli in 196, keeping *placidus* in 197.

198 tumulo . . . inani cf. *Aen.* 3.304 *Hectoreum ad tumulum . . . quem . . . inanem,* 6.505f. *tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo in litore inanem/ constitui,* Ov. *Met.* 6.568 *inane sepulcrum,* or 11.429 *saepe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

nequiquam as long as *condita* is taken literally, 'buried', one would straightaway make the change to *nequaquam,* were not the word unusual in epic hexameters (only in Lucretius; Axelson 92: "ganz unpoetisch"). *nequiquam* may possibly relate to a special ceremony around a cenotaph for a supposedly drowned person, where *condita,* 'laid by', would be the word coming closest. A paraphrase would be: 'one tried, a vain thing, to give you a burial in a cenotaph'. *nequiquam* has the same sense of the loss of any perspective in Cat., 101.4 *et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem. nequiquam* is virtually limited to epic (Axelson 128). Cf. the note on *frustra ad* 28.

condita inani According to Kösters 44 dactylic words ending in *-a* have only been elided before *et* or *-a,* except for the present case.

199 adnue sc. *votis,* as in 2.294f. *adnue votis, diva* (Thetis); cf. Vergil *G.* 1.40 *adnue coeptis* (Augustus), Ov. *Am.* 3.2.56 *inceptis adnue, diva* (Venus) *meis, Met.* 7.178f. *modo diva* (Hecate) *triformis adiuvet et praesens ingentibus adnuat ausis* (Medea speaking).

diva maris (Helle); cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.528 *tu diva profundi (sc. es)* (Thetis).

numeroque accede tuorum *accedere* as 'to be a supporter of' is unusual of gods. (In TLL 1.262.21, Stat. *Theb.* 10.186 is given as the only parallel; however, Statius does *not* speak of a god). The word combines notions of 'be present near, join, side with' and 'join as supporter the company of your own people'. *tuorum* refers to Jason's grandfather Cretheus, brother to Athamas, father of Helle.

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200. quando egomet rursus per te vehar? aurea quando
201. Seston et infaustos agnoscent vellera fluctus?
202. vos etiam, silvae, vos, Colchidos hospitis orae,
203. pandite dives ubi pellis micet arbore sacra.

200 egomet occurs 5 times in the *Argonautica* (in book 5 at 5.467),

thrice in the *Aeneid.* Langen concluded that *-met* did not necessarily add any emphasis needed; but *egomet* is more likely derived from *Aen.* 6.505 (see 198 n.), adding a pathetic nuance. The suffix *-met* with other pronouns only occurs at 7.127, 319 *semet* (conjectures of Lemaire and Heinsius, respectively) and 1.57 *temet.* Norden *ad Aen.* 6.505 regards the use of *-met* by Vergil as an archaism.

per te identification of a *diva maris* and the sea itself. Other examples of the same thing in Verg. *Ecl.* 10.5 *Doris amara,* 4.32 *quae temptare Thetim ratibus (iubeant),* Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.18 *Erythraeae* (conj. pro *-is*) *Thetidis . . . lapillis* (pearls).

quando as the last word of a line in VF only here and in 5.363, as well as in *Aen.* 6.50, 10.366, 11.509.

201 Seston Σηστός, known to Homer (*Il.* 2.836), on the Thracian side of the Hellespont at its narrowest point between Sestus and Abydus, was made immortal by the suicide of Σηστιὰς 'Ηρώ (Musaeus 24) over the corpse of her Leander.

infaustos . . . fluctus the Hellespont, where Helle had (apparently) drowned.

vellera Kleywegt (in prep.) *ad* 1.56 notes the (Ovidian) preponderance of (forms of) *vellera* over singular *vellus.*

202 silvae hiding the fleece. Cunningly VF has modelled his text upon *Aen.6*; the *silvae* correspond to *Aen.* 6.137ff. *ramus . . . hunc regit omnis/ lucus,* in view of *Aen.* 6.195 *in lucos ubi . . . dives opacat ramus humum,* cf. 203 n.

hospitis ironic, a play upon ἄξενον Φᾶσιν (see 154–176 n.), and Sen. Med 43 *inhospitalem Caucasum.* On the other hand, addressing the *hospita tellus* was traditional as in Ov. *Fast.* 1.509ff. *di . . . salvete locorum,/ tuque novos caelo terra datura deos,/ fluminaque et fontes, quibus utitur hospita tellus,* VF 3.304 *quae me hospita tellus accipiet?, Aen.* 3.539 *bellum, o terra hospita, portas,* Ov. *Met.* 3.637, Luc. 3.43f. *tunc obtulit hospita tellus/ puppibus accessus faciles.* The poetic adjectives *hospes* and *hospita* have notions of 'hospitable' as well as of 'foreign' (as in 5.385); the prosaic *hospitalis* lacks the latter sense.

203 dives for the golden Fleece, cf. for the Golden Bough in *Aen.* 6.195 quoted above.

ubi with long *-i,* as in 4.303; cf. *ibi* in 5.639, 6.586. Words like *ubi, mihi,* etc. total 241 with short final *-i,* 52 with long final *-i* (Kösters 84).

micet a reading for the other Mss.' *misceat* adopted from **C**,

even though it may be non-authentic; Carrio expressly states that *micet* was *calamo exaratus*, that is, corrected, in a codex that is suspected to abound in corrections.

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204. tunc tibi, fecundi proles Iovis, orte nivali
205. Arcados axe deae, fluvio modo, Phasi, quieto
206. Palladiam patiare ratem, nec dona nec arae
207. defuerint tellure mea:

204–209 for the motif of addressing the river of a new and unfriendly country cf. Aeneas praying to unknown rivers (*Aen.* 7.137f. *Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur/ flumina*, itself influenced by ARh 2.1271ff.), and praying to the Tiber (*Aen.* 8.68–78 *Nymphae, . . .,/ tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,/ accipite Aenean, etc.*

204 fecundi proles Iovis Turnebus, Burman, Langen compare Hom. *Il.* 16.174 υἱὸς Σπερχειοῖο, Διιπετέος ποταμοῖο, taking Jupiter in the sense of 'the rainy sky'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.365 *nubigenas . . . amnes* (here literally, the adjective normally applied to the Centaurs), 4.120f. *(Inachus) cum Taurum aut Pliadas hausit aquosas/ spumeus et genero tumit Iove*, Tib. 1.7.26 *pluvio Iovi.* For *fecundus* said of rains from the sky cf. Verg. *G.* 2.325 *pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether. proles* was considered poetic by Cic. *de Orat.* 3.153, Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.26 *prolem dicere inusitatum est.* Of a literal child of Jupiter VF 5.653 (Pallas speaking) *nec vocer ulterius proles Iovis.* – On the mythology Langen adds that Ps.-Plut. *de Fluviis* 5.1 gives Sol as the father, with Ὠκυρρόη, daughter of Ὠκεανός, as the mother; because he killed his mother on account of her adultery, the river flows οἰστροπλήξ ('stung by a gadfly', driven wild); cf. Sen. *Med.* 762 *violenta Phasis.*

orte . . . (axe) the ablative denotes the region, not the father or mother, as it does in, *e.g., satus, cretus, natus*, with ablative of a person (frequent in VF), or in Luc. 9.659f. *partu Danaes et divite nimbo/ ortum . . . Persea*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.71 *est iuvenis quem patriciis maioribus ortum/ Nobilitas gavisa tulit*; cf. *exorta Gradivo*, VF 4.602. *satus* is followed by an ablative of a region in VF 5.473 *nostro satus orbe. orte nivali Arcados axe deae* can be rendered in practice as 'fed by arctic snow'.

nivali . . . (axe) cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.13.39f. *nivali/. . . sub axe*, Sen. *Med.* 712 *sub axe . . . frigido*, Ov. *Ib.* 34 (cf. *Pont.* 4.14.62) *gelido . . . ab axe*, *Tr.* 2.190 *Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor*, 5.2.64, *Pont.* 2.10.48, 4.15.36 *gelido . . ./. . . sub axe*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.7 *axemque nivosi sideris.*

205 Arcados . . . deae Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, mother of Jupiter's son Arcas; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.401–530 on the unhappy *Hamadryad* (her life-span linked to that of a tree) nymph, following the Virgin Goddess Diana. She was violated by Jupiter in the guise of her Lady, excluded for being with child, changed into a bear by Juno, and finally apotheosized to the constellation the Great Bear.

axe Smolenaars 9: *axis* indicates a part of the heaven and the land beneath. For *axe* cf. also VF 5.517 *horrifero sub axe . . . Caucasus.*

modo in poetry for *dummodo*; *dummodo* occurs in tmesis in 5.265.

fluvio quieto cf. VF 8.405f. *tempus fluctusque quietos/ expectant*, Hor. *Epod.* 10.11f. *quietiore nec feratur aequore/ quam . . .*, *Carm.* 1.31.7f. *non rura quae Liris quieta/ mordet aqua taciturnus omnis*, 3.29.40f. *cum fera diluvies quietos/ irritat amnis.*

206 Palladiam . . . ratem the ship had been built by Pallas; cf. 1.126, 1.457, 8.292 *Palladiam puppem*, 8.463, Sen. Med. 365ff. *Palladia . . . Argo*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.50 *et puppem temerariam Minervae.*

ratem, nec dona the full stop after *ratem* in Ehlers must be a printing error.

nec dona . . . (defuerint) cf. *Aen.* 8.76 (to the Tiber) *semper celebrabere donis.*

207 defuerint for other examples of an unexpected future perfect cf. *Aen.* 6.89 *defuerint* in the same position in the line (where Norden *ad loc.* explains them as "rein metrisch", but cf. Austin), or *Aen.* 9.298 (*defuerit* in second position), 9.282 *arguerit* (in second position). Conington/Nettleship (*ad.* 9.281), supported by Mynors (*ad* Verg. *G.* 2.51), prefer a functional explanation, viz., to postulate a future discussion or investigation looking back. In the present case the sense 'the people will say that' fits perfectly.

tellure mea the motif here corresponding to *regnis nostris* in *Aen.* 69ff. *tum . . . solido de marmore templum/ instituam . . . ./ te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.*

*

207. veneranda tuenti
208. effigies te, Phasi, manet, quam magnus Enipeus
209. et pater aurato quantus iacet Inachus antro'.

207 veneranda tuenti *verenda* **V**, *veneranda* **L**, *reverenda* Heinsius. Ehlers, Courtney, Kramer, Giarratano, Bury, Thilo, all kept the Mss.'

fluentis. On the other hand, Mozley and Langen emended to *tuenti* Sandström, 1878:5; Baehrens, improvising freely, to *reverenda natis*; Schenkl to *futuris*. Heinsius's conjecture is merely an attempt to correct the metrically impossible *verenda fluentis*. Corruption from *veneranda* to *verenda* can have easily occurred. This seems slightly more likely than an early medieval correction to *veneranda*, which can, accordingly, be considered the original reading.

While discussing *fluentis* Mss. Ph. Wagner 1863:639 already asked indignantly 'will the image be venerated by the river(god)s themselves'? Since there is no attestation for *fluens* as a possible synonym of *flumen* (TLL 6.1.975.25ff.), *fluentis* has to be interpreted as a plural of *fluentum*. Therefore *fluentis* gives Latin, but not sense as long as one keeps *veneranda*. I prefer *tuenti*. On the latter Sandström only remarks "*fluentis nihili est. An a poeta fuit tuenti?*". *tuenti* as the last word in the verse is found in Vergil (*Aen.* 2.604, 9.65), who also has several similar participles on *-enti* in the same position: *rubenti, tumenti, furenti, fluenti*. VF himself uses *tuens* many times, *e.g.*, 5.212, 5.417; also *tuentem* as the final word (2.154, 7.503 (conj.)) or *tuentes*, 2.223. In addition he also has *ruenti* (1.663, 1.828) and *fluenti* occupying the final metrical position. *tuenti* in the last position is not found in Sen. or Luc., but occurs thrice in the *Thebaid*, in 5.241, 6.689, 7.742. For *veneranda* with a dative of the agent, and in the same position in the verse cf. VF 1.11 *veneranda canenti*, Prop. 4.9.69 about an altar *haec nullis umquam pateat veneranda puellis*, Claud. *Carm.min.* 52.119 *regia Neptuni famulis veneranda profundis*. Ov. *Fast.* 5.447 *Pliade nate, mone, virga venerande potenti* is peculiar because of the ablative, but presents nevertheless with regard to sound a good parallel to *veneranda tuenti*.

The model may be *Aen.* 7.443 *cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri* (to 'Calybe', *templi sacerdos*). It would give *tuenti* a priestly hue.

208 effigies . . . manet cf. *Aen.* 6.71 *te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris*.

Enipeus The rôle of the river Enipeus in the story is a complex one. It is a tributary of the Peneus, situated not far from Iolcos. Jason's grandmother Tyro took a fancy to the river-god, of which Neptune cunningly profited by approaching her in his likeness; she became mother to Pelias. References to Enipeus in connection with Tyro are not infrequent (e.g., Prop. 3.19.13, Ov. *Am.* 3.6.43). The battle of Pharsalus, amply described by Lucan, took place on the banks of the Enipeus; therefore the name must have been familiar to most of VF's audience. Perhaps for that reason VF describes

the Enipeus as the river where Jason gave assistance to Juno in ferrying her over when she had assumed the habit of an old woman (1.83ff.). ARh gives Anauros as the name of that river (1.9, 3.67), a small rivulet closer to Iolcos, running from the Pelion into the Pagasean Gulf (Hirschfeld, RE 1.2075). It had been mentioned by Hesiod. *Scut.* 477f. as Ἄναυρος/ ὄμβρῳ χειμερίῳ πλήθων, which made it a credible scene for the Juno story, and by Apollod. 1.9.16, where there is no relationship with Juno. In the present line Enipeus functions as the river closest to Jason's heart. Hyg. 134 changes to yet another river, the Euhenus = Euenus, known from Hesiod. *Theog.* 345, applied to rivers in Aetolia and Mysia (Philippson, RE 6.974ff.).

quam magnus more or less the equivalent of *quantus* (209). The interpretation of the line may run as follows: <*tam*> *magna effigies, quam Enipeus* <*iacet*> *et quantus Inachus iacet*; cf. *Aen.* 10.763ff. *quam magnus Orion/... supereminet..., talis... etc.* Other examples of *quam* without antecedent *tam* in the *Aeneid* occur at 6.309, 311, 11.721.

209 pater title of rivers since Ennius (S26 = V54 *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*; cf. Accius fr. 335 (Oceanus), Tib. 1.7.23 *Nile pater.*

aurato ... antro there is no evidence for *gilded* roofs in grottoes, in literature (TLL *s.vv.*) or in archaeology (H. Lavagne, *Operosa antra*, Rome, 1988). Nero's *domus aurea* suggests the possibility; *Aen.* 1.726 has guilded *laquearia*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.2 *lacunaria*, and we are dealing here with a promise of something extraordinary. The cave of Achelous is described in Ov. *Met.* 8.562–564 as moist, with mosses in abundance and the roof decorated with shells.

Inachus tributary of the Achelous, in mythology father of Io; cf. Aen. 7.792 *caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna*, Ov. *Met.* 1.583f. *Inachus unus abest imoque reconditus antro/ fletibus auget aquas*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.273ff. *pater ordine iuncto/ laevus harundinae recubans super aggere ripae/ cernitur emissaeque indulgens Inachus urnae*, 4.118f. *fluviorum ductor Achivum,/ Inache.* For the present phrase compare in particular *Theb.* 9.404 *at pater arcano residens Ismenos in antro.*

The biggest river in ancient Greece, a worthy antagonist of Hercules, is the Achelous itself; apparently Statius gives to *ingens Inachus* (*Theb.* 4.711f.) features of its overlord. Statius's *arcano* looks like an emulative 'correction' of the rather conventional *aurato* in VF, derived from VF 2.624 *arcanis... antris.* With regard to the question whether the grotto serves as background only for the image, or for housing Inachus in a real cave, *aurato* may suggest the former. A real

cave alongside a river is mentioned in 8.256, not explicitly the Hister's; but in a mediterranean climate, where else should a moist river try to avoid evaporation at midday? Compare further Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.70 *antris Anien et fonte relicto.*

*

210. dixerat atque illi dextra sine versa magistri
211. protinus in proram rediit ratis omine certo
212. fluminis os pontumque tuens. 'promittis ut ecce
213. utque vocas, revehemur!' ait.

210ff. 'After these words before his eyes, without a captain's hand, the ship was straight-away turned back, prow forward looking in the direction of the river mouth and the sea'.

210 The *prodigium* following a prayer finds a parallel in *Aen.* 8.86ff., where the Tiber makes its swollen current smooth as a lake; the source is A.Rh. 2.1275 where Jason prays καὶ νηὸς ἐναίσιμα ('favourable, of omens' LSJ) πείσματα δέχθαι.

illi 'sympathetic dative' ('yes, before his eyes'); cf. 599 n.

dextra . . . magistri for a navigator's *dextra* see 64 n.

211 in proram redire Langen altered to *in puppim redire*, Renkema *ad loc.* defended the Mss.' text, comparing VF 7.598ff. *ille . . . in caput inque humeros . . . proruit.* The ship turns back to the sea, prow forward. There is something paradoxical in the expression, taken literally. Yet, in Langen's conception the ship would move rearward (as is, in fact, the meaning of *in puppem rates rediere* in Luc. 3.545): a poor show.

omine certo cf. 1.245 *omine dextro*, Prop. 4.10.46 *omine . . . certo*, Tib. 1.3.12 *omina certa*; for *certus* ('to be fulfilled') cf. 4.709 *fati certa nam lege*, Man. 2.113 *quod certum est et inevitabile fatum.*

fluminis os cf. *ostia*, 184. *os* can also mean 'source': *Aen.* 3.696 *qui nunc/ ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis*, or Luc. 10.213f. *subdita Nili/ ora latent.* For *os* as 'mouth' cf. Verg. *G.* 4.292 *(Nilus) septem discurrit in ora*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.294 *ad Tusci fluminis ora*, *Met.* 15.54, *Tr.* 3.10.28, Sen. *Med.* 763 *Hister, in tot ora divisus*, Luc. 8.825 *Nili Pelusia . . . ora*, VF 8.121f. *fluminis ora/ summa petant.* These are all plurals; in most cases this is because a delta is involved.

212 ut 'as, in the way', here 'in the direction you promise and call'.

*

213. sic deinde precatus
214. arma iubet celsa socios depromere puppe.
215. dona dehinc Bacchi (casus qui firmet in omnes)
216. rapta Ceres; viridesque premunt longo ordine ripas.

213 sic . . . precatus cf. *Aen.* 10.420 *quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus.*

214 (see introduction 177–216:) referring back to 5.9f. *flens arma revellit/ Idmonis e celsa Mopsus rate.*

215/216 the picnic on the grassy slopes of a river brings Homer to mind, and may involve an allusion to the Nausicaa-like scene coming (vv. 329–328); cf. *Od.* 6.97 δεῖπνον ἔπειθ' εἵλοντο παρ' ὄχθῃσιν ποταμοῖο. In the *Argonautica* there is one similar scene in 8.255f. *gramineis ast inde toris discubitur olim/ Hister anhelantem Peucen quo presserat antro.* In the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas after the final land-fall has moored in the Tiber, *instituunt dapes . . . per herbam (Aen.* 7.109); see further next note.

215 dona Bacchi cf. Sil. 11.414 *Bacchi dona*, Verg. *G.* 2.454 *Baccheia dona*, Prop. 3.17.13, Sil. 13.416. A *munus Bacchi* figures in Ov. *Met.* 4.765, 12.578, *Cerealia munera* in 11.122f., 13.639. The phrase *dona Bacchi <rapta sunt et> Ceres rapta <est>* is a variation upon *Aen.* 8.180f. *onerantque canistris/ dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.* The latter quotation, after the meeting of Aeneas and Euander, seems highly significant in view of the location on the grass (*Aen.* 8.176 *gramineo . . . sedili*).

(casus qui firmet in omnes) cf. *Aen.* 9.292 *in casus omnis*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.191f. *in omnes/ prompta manus casus*, Sil. 1.76 *casus . . . in omnes. casusque ut firmet . . . Ceres* is a conjecture of Heinsius for *casus qui firmet* Mss. The conjecture makes excellent sense, but Samuelsson 1927:9 *dona . . . casus quae firmet* is not inferior. An asyndeton between Bacchus and Ceres perhaps more clearly groups them together, creating a contrast with the last part of the tricolon (cf. 216 n.). In the present case *qui* with a descriptive consecutive subjunctive, referring to Bacchus, can stay, and I am reluctant to alter it; I put its clause between brackets. The verses would then read as follows: *dona dehinc Bacchi (casus qui firmet in omnes) <rapta sunt>, rapta <est> Ceres; viridesque premunt longo ordine ripas <viri>.*

216 rapta Ceres see 215 n. *dona Bacchi. rapere* depicts the mood of the wearied crew, uneasy in their hearts about the future, and

'hustling in' their victuals; an over-expressive use as usual (cf. 32, *amplexus rupere*). For *rapere* see 41 n., and cf. Claud. 26 (*B.Goth.*).349ff. *nulla Lyaei/ pocula; rara Ceres; raptos contentus (sc. erat Stilicho) in armis/ delibasse cibos.* For a semicolon after *Ceres* see below.

viridesque . . . ripas cf. *Aen.* 8.176 *gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili,* 1.214f. *fusique per herbam/ implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae,* VF 8.255 quoted above, Verg. *G.* 4.121 *virides apio ripas,* Ov. *Met.* 2.371 *ripas virides.*

premunt . . . ripas after the singular *Ceres* it is not likely that the *dona* are again subject to *premunt,* which for this final line would in addition make much less of an impression (bread and beakers strewn around like litter) than the crew ('they') sitting (or sleeping, cf. *Aen.* 9.316f. *passim somno vinoque per herbam/ corpora fusa vident*) in a long row. A similar change of subject to implicit 'they' occurred in 146/147; but in view of the coordinator *-que* in the present case punctuation with a semicolon seems necessary. (With the exception of Ehlers, who leaves a blank, all editors up to now printed a comma before *virides,* only Burman a colon.) For another bold change of subject cf. 172 n., or VF 1.129; other examples from the Silver period in G. Williams, *Change and Decline* 245 n.111. – *premere* is not so usual of the ground (cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.608 *aut inhumata (sc. corpora) premunt terras*), rather of *tori,* as in Petr. 131 *premebat illa resoluta marmoreis cervicibus aureum torum*; cf. *Aen.* 5.388 *ut viridante toro consederat herbae.* In the similar picnic-scene in *Aen.* 7.107ff., the *duces et . . . Iulus/ corpora sub ramis deponunt arboris altae.*

longo ordine used in the *Aeneid* of swans (1.395), *pavidae matres* (2.766), *bello clari . . . Dardanidae* (6.482), *victae gentes* (8.722). Except for the examples given, an unusual combination in poetry according to TLL 9.2.954.10ff.

217–695: The request of the Fleece from Aeetes

After line 216 falls the main caesura of the book, separating its two disparate parts. The atmosphere of travel and adventure, interspersed with stories recalling Bacchus, Hercules, Aeneas, now makes way for a new static scene with a mixture of psychology (the terrible characters of Aeetes, Medea) and fairy tale. The dragon, the earthborn, are ingredients of a fantasy novel; the fact that the evil king protecting the treasure has a daughter in love with the thief is a fairy tale motif.

In the first half there was little or no character study. By contrast the monologues in the second half, in their rhetorical setting, serve to give the three major stars personal traits.

Since they left Lycus, and while still in localities that could be pinpointed on the map, the comrades have heard about Amazons and seen Prometheus's own eagle, so that an additional dragon is no surprise. Books 5 and 7 (distinct but essentially contiguous, artificially separated) form a long and lively scene from the *heroic* era, when gods and men still intermingled.

The first half, 1–216, ended in a picnic of bread and wine. When the book ends in a heavenly banquet with music and nectar, again a circle is closed, on a higher level.

Verses 217–695 can be subdivided into the following major sections:

D. the night 217–328
E. Medea in Aea 329–454
F. Aeetes 455–617
G. epilogue in heaven 618–695.

Sections D+E comprise 238 lines; F+G = 241. The second half of the book appears to be divided into two nearly equal parts.

D. *The night 217–328*

The composition has as its principle presenting the various intrigues preparatory to the confrontation of Jason and Aeetes in a circular way, starting in the ships' camp (Jason), then introducing Aeetes, with mention of the dragon, Perses, divine interference, and coming back to Jason again. Accordingly before daylight arrives the reader knows the ingredients of the plot.

	number of lines	
d1. invocation of the muses	217–224a	7½
d2. dream of Aeetes	224b–258	34½
d3. Perses	259–277	19
d4. the goddesses	278–296	19
d5. the Minyans	297–328	32

d1. *217–224a. Invocation of the Muses*
The invocation of divine inspiration, short but important, is based upon ARh 3.1–5, itself a model for Vergilian invocations: *G.* 3.1–48, and *Aen.* 7.37–45a, 9.525–528, 10.163–165, also Stat. *Theb.* 7.628–631,

4.32–38. Other similar invocations by VF himself occur in 6.33–41, 515–516. For ending an invocation in the midst of a verse a parallel can be found in *Aen.* 7.45a (cf. *Theb.* 4.38); the choice of words (see 217 n.) appears to point to *Aen.10.* In this way the transition from invocation to story is veiled; see further 219 n.

The rising tricolon *furias, foedera, trepida puppis* seems to summarize the whole rest of the story of Medea: her love 7.1–299, her liaison with Jason 7.300–8.133, the flight 8.134 – end. For *furias* in the sense of 'love' see 219 n.

*

217. Incipe nunc cantus alios, dea, visaque vobis
218. Thessalici da bella ducis, non mens mihi, non haec
219. ora satis. ventum ad furias infandaque natae
220. foedera et horrenda trepidam sub virgine puppem;
221. impia monstriferis surgunt iam proelia campis.

217 incipe the imperative singular of *incipere* is frequent in Verg. *Ecl.* (6 times), once in *G.*, once in *Aen,* always in the initial position in the verse, *e.g., Ecl.* 8.21ff. *incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.*

incipe nunc cantus cf. Catul. 64.306 *veridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus* ('prophecies'), where *coepisse* corresponds to *incipere.* The expression is related to the invocation of the Muses in *Aen.* 10.163 (= *Aen.* 7.641) *Pandite nunc Helicona, deae, cantusque movete,* itself followed by Man. 1.4f. *primusque novis Helicona movere/ cantibus.* Statius uses *cantus* often in the present sense of 'poetry' in the *Silvae,* also in *Ach.* 1.3 *acta viri multum inclita cantu/ Maeonio.*

cantus alios recalls Verg. *Ecl.* 4.1 *paulo maiora canamus!* or *Aen.* 7.45 *maius opus moveo.* Apparently the author is preparing the reader for the coming of the poetry of heroic battle-scenes, as well as of love. For the function of the invocation of the Muses as an instruction to the reader cf. I.J.F. de Jong, 45ff.

visa that the Muses are omniscient is a motif from Homer, *Il.* 2.485 παρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα, followed by *Aen.* 7.645 *et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis,* Ov. *Met.* 15.623 *scitis enim nec vos fallit spatiosa vetustas.* In Stat. *Theb.* 7.630 *vidistis enim* the idea that they also have *seen* the events is easily understood, because they lived on the mountain nearby. VF uses *videre* again in 6.33f. *hinc age Rhipaeo quos videris orbe furores,/ Musa, mone.* This may be a personal taste; the word *visa* in VF is perhaps not very well supported by mythology.

visaque vobis alliteration, as in 218, 224, 227, 235, 236, 240, 242 (twice), 244, 260/261, 263, 265, 268, 269, 270, 285, (twice) 296, 305, 316, 326, 327, 327/328, 336, 342, 346, 346/347, 351, 353, 357, 375, 377, 386, 405, 406, 434, 448, 449, 451, 453, 456 (twice), 458, 462, 479, 487/488, 493, 495, 503, 505 (*qu/c*), 506 (*qu/c*), 511, 516, 526 (*qu/c*), 532, 533, 534, 540, 542, 548, 560, 567, 579 (twice), 580, 581, 591, 608, 611, 620, 622, 694, 695. For lines 1–216 see 21 n.

218 Thessalici . . . ducis cf. *Thessalici ducis* in Sen. *Tro.* 181, where, however, it refers to Achilles. *dux Thessalus* is used in 5.277. For the use of the two adjectives see 277 n.

da 'tell' (OLD 28), not frequent; an early example is Verg. *Ecl.* 1.18 *deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.*

bella Wetzel 44 emphasizes that Jason, in contrast to the situation in ARh, does not obtain the fleece simply and solely by Medea's intervention; in VF he takes an active part, *fighting* for it. VF may point to the battle with Perses's troops here.

non mens mihi . . . (satis) (sc. est) for *mens* as 'imaginative power' cf. (TLL 8.720.72ff.) Hor. *S.* 1.4.43f. *ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os/ magna sonaturum, des nominis huius (sc. poetae) honorem,* Stat. *Theb.* 4.37f. *(Calliope) . . . sublata molire lyra: neque enim altior ulli/ mens hausto de fonte venit.*

non haec monosyllables ending a verse can also be found at 71, 427, 529 (Kösters 53). *haec* essentially means 'my'; the usage is already Plautine (*Poen.* 417 *hanc . . . dextram*); cf. further *Aen.* 1.98 (Aeneas) *animam hanc,* 4.359 (Aeneas) *vocem his auribus hausi.*

219 ora for the mouth of a poet cf. VF 1.21 *haec* ('my') *ut Latias vox impleat urbes,* Verg. *G.* 3.294 *magno nunc ore sonandum,* Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.8 *dicam insigne recens adhuc indictum ore alio,* 4.2.7f. *ruit profundo/ Pindarus ore,* Ov. *Tr.* 2.73 *te celebrant alii, quanto decet ore.*

(non haec) ora satis the insufficiency recalls Verg. *G.* 2.42ff. = *Aen.* 6.625: *non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,/ non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,/ ferrea vox,* itself ultimately based upon Homer, *Il.* 2.489 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν. Langen has an interesting note on VF 6.36f. *nec . . . memorem . . ./ mille vel ora movens,* tracing the development of the topos from Homeric 'ten' through 'hundred' and 'thousand' to Dracontius's 'as many tongues as hairs on the head'. Persius (5.1f., 26) ridiculed the motive; Skutsch 627ff. gives its full literary history, commenting on Enn. S469f. = V561f. *non si lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem sint/ in me.*

ventum (*sc. est*), cf. 5.404 *ventum (sc. est)*, and 2.332 or *Aen.* 6.35 *ventum erat.* E. Fraenkel has an ample note on *ventum erat*, Hor. *S.* 1.9.35 in *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 115 n.1, Austin one on the impersonal passive in general *ad Aen.* 4.416. Pinkster (1992) emphasizes that using the impersonal passive involves the demotion of the Agent. In the present verses after starting with an imperative to the Muse the impersonal passive takes over, followed by *exsequar* (222); in this way the transition from invocation to resumption of the story is blurred, leaving undecided (sort of 'We have come now to . . .,) whether the Muse or the Poet are on the brink of decisive adventures. The very word 'adventure' speaks for itself.

furias 'love'; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.244 for animals in the grip of love's passion *in furias ignemque ruunt.*

furias infandaque natae/ foedera similar consonants or vowels interspersed with other words, or syllables, also in 230 (qu . . . c . . . /qu . . .), 231, 244, 246, 247 (twice), 256, 259/260, 260, 265, 268/269, 270, 273, 274, 277, 280/281, 282, 283, 289, 297, 324, 334/335, 336, 337, 351, 356/357, 374/375, 376, 377, 416, 416/417, 437, 440/441, 446/447, 450/451/452, 457, 459, 463/464, 469/470, 472, 473, 480, 487/488, 489, 490/491, 504, 505/506, 507, 510, 511, 515, 516, 527, 532/533, 533, 534, 539, 567/568, 580, 592/593, 603, 618, 629, 638, 640/641, 650, 659ff., 667, 668, 675/676, 676, 695. For lines 1–216 see 19 n. The caution there expressed concerning the significance of the phenomenon still holds.

infanda J.A. Wagner glosses '= *nefanda*'. Although the words are largely synonymous, *infanda* can here probably be taken quite literally now that VF has already told us that he does not have *ora satis*; nevertheless *infandus* can have connotations of something 'abominable, agonizing, wicked'. Langen takes offence at the poet first abominating actions (*impia proelia*, 221) of which he avidly sings in the remainder of the books. In VF hints at the fiendish heroine of tragedy are frequent before she enters the stage in her own right, *e.g.* 1.224!, 546f., 4.13f.; but her *name* is not used before 5.239. In ARh it is only in the third book that she appears, as a shy and naive girl.

220 foedera can have erotic connotations, as in *Aen.* 4.339 *aut haec in foedera veni*, 4.520f. *si quod non aequo foedere amantis/ curae numen habet*, Cat. 109.6 *aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae*, Ov. *Ars* 2.579 *veniunt ad foedus amantes*, Sil. 2.416 *furtivaque foedera amantum.*

horrenda . . . sub virgine cf. *Aen.* 11.507 *oculos horrenda in*

virgine (Camilla) *fixus*. *horrendus* is also used by Vergil for Polyphemus, *Fama*, the Sibyl, Charon, Juno, Mezentius.

trepidam one of MacKay's 'adjectives of fear'. The word is slightly more frequent in VF (26) than in Verg. (19); by contrast there are 59 cases in Statius! (who 'runs wild on this adjective', MacKay 314; see 220 n.). Compare also Luc. 5.568 *tunc rector trepidae fatur ratis:* (through the action of waves and storm).

puppem 23 cases of *puppem*, no *puppim*; by contrast, Vergil has only *puppim* (5 cases), Lucan both. Cf. 45 n. *puppe.*

221 impia cf. 3.30 *impia bella* (of the nocturnal battle with Cyzicus); applied to Medea, 5.686f. *heu magnis quantumlicet, impia, fatis*, 4.13f. *impia . . . virgo*, Sen. *Ag.* 119 *ardens impia virgo face* ('with impious torch'), foreshadowed in Ov. *Tr.* 3.9.9 *impia desertum fugiens Medea parentem.*

monstriferis cf. 43 n. The monsters meant are the fire-breathing bulls and the Earthborn.

*

222. ante dolos, ante infidi tamen exsequar astus
223. Soligenae falli meriti meritique relinqui,
224. inde canens: Scythica senior iam Solis in urbe
225. fata laborati Phrixus compleverat aevi.

222 dolos . . . astus Shelton 275 notes the characterization of Aeetes as a treacherous tyrant in the two words; *doli* referring to Pelias (1.64, 245), *astus* to Laomedon (2.555). The evidence is not very convincing; the words allow general application, and *dolus* is frequent. In 2.567 the *doli* are Laomedon's, while *infidus* is applied to his promises (2.577).

exsequar 'pursue' (OLD 3a), as in Sen. *Phaed.* 1209f. *dum falsum nefas/ exsequor vindex severus*, Tac. *Ag.* 19.3 *omnia scire, non omnia exsequi, parvis peccatis veniam . . . commodare.* VF uses the word once more, in 2.217, as here in an authorial comment.

astus ('stratagem'): in early Latin in particular under the form *astu*, revived in Augustan poetry, and later also in prose; plural forms occasionally in Sen., VF (4.365), Stat., Sil., Tac. A genitive occurs in 5.541.

223 Soligenae not elsewhere in Latin except for 5.317. For other adjectives ending in *-genus*, *-gena* in VF cf. 5.584 (after 604) *amnigena*, and further words like *terrigena*, *Graiugena*, *indigena* (listed in Poortvliet

36). *Ad Aen.* 3.221 *caprigenus*, Williams speaks of the type as archaic; cf. J. André, 'Les composés en -gena, -genus', *R.Ph.* 47 (1973) 7–30.

Taylor 1994 supposes that Aeetes the tyrant is the symbolic representation of Nero, who was once celebrated as the 'new Sun'. In book 5 Aeetes is referred to as *Soligenae/ Soligenam* (223, 317), *Sole satus* (263, 456, 567), *flammigeri proles Perseia Solis* (581) and *rex Hyperionide* (471). She compares this with ARh mentioning Aeetes' descent from the sun-god three times directly, four times indirectly. In itself the difference between the two authors, if at all significant, is not spectacular; after all, the mythology involved is Homeric (*Od.* 10.138).

falli meriti meritique relinqui notice the chiasma. Infinitives after *meritus* occur infrequently (TLL 8.813.8 + 28); cf. in a bad sense (as here) Hor. *S.* 1.3.120f. *subire verbera*; in a good sense Sil. 6.41 *sibi poscere*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.97 *doleri*, VF 1.519 *queri*. – In 6.22f. Perses explains to the Minyans *neque enim Aeetae promissa fidemque/ esse loco.*

224 inde canens cf. Verg. *G.* 1.5 *hinc canere incipiam* (*inde* and *hinc* referring to the points basic to what follows).

d2. *224b–258. Dream of Aeetes*

Phrixus is helping Aeetes (the *pietas* towards his father-in-law exceeds that towards his nephew), and warns him in a dream. Aeetes prays to Mars to be on his guard. The serpent appears. In Phrixus warning his father-in-law *Aen.* 1.476ff. has been the model. (Cf. Shey 143f., Shelton 276–280, Lüthje 204–207).

224 Scythica *Aea* is a Scythian town (also 5.325), just as Phasis is a Scythian river according to VF 1.2, 2.595; cf. Shreeves 160ff. explaining that 'Colchis belongs fundamentally to the world of Scythia'. This was a *Roman* convention; σκυθικός does not occur in ARh, and Σκύθαι is only used for the world beyond the Hister.

senior representing ARh 2.1151 γηραιὸς θάνε Φρίξος ἐν Αἰήταο δόμοισιν.

Scythica senior iam solis is a fine example of alliteration, as is 227 *aries apparuit astro*; see 217 n.

225 'Phrixus had completed the allotted period of a life of affliction'.

laborati . . . aevi cf. Stat. Theb. 1.341 *laboratae vitae.*

fata . . . compleverat cf. 6.621 *complerat sua fata Colaxes*, Tib. 1.3.53 *fatales iam nunc explevimus annos*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.77 *iam compleverat*

genitor sua fata; behind which may hide Homer, *Il.* 4.170 καὶ μοῖραν ἀναπλήσῃς βιότοιο, *Il.* 11.263 πότμον ἀναπλήσαντες.

Phrixus on the genealogy see 476 n. Mozley (p. VIII, while Langen *ad* 236 seems of the same opinion) took as an instance of internal contradiction in the poem (pointing to the unfinished state of the whole)[30] that in 1.43ff. with reference to Phrixus VF has *hunc Aeetes mactat*, in 1.49 *lacera umbra*; while now he enjoys death in old age! However, there Pelias is speaking, concocting a *false* dream; see further 231 n.

*

226. illius extremo sub funere mira repente
227. flamma poli magnoque aries apparuit astro
228. aequora cuncta movens. at vellera Martis in umbra
229. ipse sui Phrixus monumentum insigne pericli
230. liquerat ardenti quercum complexa metallo.

226 illius with short *-i*, as always in VF (in the present book also 590, Kösters 81ff.), although Vergil and Ovid fairly often have a long second syllable (*ibid.* 83).

extremo sub funere not 'in the end of his death'; since the apotheosis occurs after his death, *funus* must mean 'funeral' (on the pyre) here. One wonders what 'during the last moments of the funeral' stands for, perhaps 'after the flames had erased any trace of earthly life'.

repente its frequency (6 times) in relation to *subito* (15 times) is approximately the same as in the *Aeneid. repente* is more elevated (archaic); cf. Axelson 32f.

227 (mira)/ flamma *flamma . . . que Aries* as a hendiadys 'the flame of the Ram'; cf. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.92 *innumerabiles flammae siderum exsistunt*, Germ. *Arat.* 286f. *Aegoceros . . . videtur/ Oceano mersus sopitas condere flammas.*

flamma poli 'a flame in the sky'. I do not find a good parallel for the bold genitive.

magno astro if 'a ram appears with a big star', it is of the easiest to imagine the constellation The Ram taking its place in the sky *as* a big constellation (a small one in reality; Arat. *Phaen.* 228

[30] W.-W. Ehlers has maintained (1971:107, ed. 1980 p. V) that the book has been completed by the author and that the end was lost in the course of time. For the contrary view see Poortvliet 1991.

speaks of αὐτὸς μὲν νωθὴς καὶ ἀνάστερος, Germ. 229f. *clara nec est illi facies nec sidera possunt,/ officiat si Luna, sua virtute nitere,* although this is too much, and not true). *magno astro* is then an ablative of description; for some parallels see Kleywegt 1986b:2458. – For *astro* occupying the last foot in the hexameter cf. 2.357 (see above), 1.481 *Arcadio Tiphys pendebat ab astro,* Verg. *G.* 1.218. In the latter example *astrum* stands for 'star' (Sirius); in both former ones for 'constellation'. Possibly there is influence of Aratus, who speaks (608) of μέγα σῆμα Βοώτης (following Homer, where (*Il.* 2.308) μέγα σῆμα stands for 'portent'). In the present context *astrum* may rather represent 'bright heavenly phenomenon' (as in *Matth.* 2.2 εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα, *Apoc.* 8.10 καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστὴρ μέγας καιόμενος ὡς λαμπάς), much like a 'nova'.

On the relationship between *astrum* and *sidus* I quote from TLL 2.969.13ff. the following ratios: Vergil 28/77; Statius 99/65; VF 20/22. VF seems indifferent in his choice, and is as such intermediate between Vergil and Statius.

aries Man. 2.532 suggests that the catasterism is a compensation for loosing the fleece, *aurea Lanigero concessit sidera pellis,* but the fact of the *ram* going heavenward bound at the death of *Phrixus* remains unexplained.[31] The case of the Ram can be compared to that of Hercules; cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 1703f. *si scelera desunt, spiritum admitte hunc precor/ in astra* (Hercules praying to Jupiter); 1966ff. (deified Hercules to his mother) *quidquid in nobis tui/ mortale fuerat, ignis evictus tulit;/ paterna caelo, pars data est flammis tua.*

228 aequora . . . movens the literal sense, 'stirring (= rising from) the whole sea', may have strong overtones of 'bringing emotions to Helle', because sea can stand for Helle, as Helle stood for the sea in 200.

cuncta relatively frequent in VF, 52 cases, as against 49 in Vergil.

at expresses a contrast between the (divine, imperishable) ram itself, and its material fleece.

umbra 'wood' (*lucus* 237), Nováková 30ff.; an extreme of the metonymy 'tree'; cf. 7.55 *caesa umbra.* For *Martis* cf. 230 *quercum.*

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[31] The 'eternal' part of the ram (cf. *Her.O.* 1966ff. quoted above) is not catasterized at his slaughter, but afterwards; this demands some animistic explanation, that Phrixus has somehow appropriated the animal's 'soul' to himself.

229 monumentum (repeated in 8.119): a votive memorial, as in *Aen.* 12.767f. *(oleaster) nautis venerabile lignum, servati ubi figere dona solebant,* 11.5ff. *quercum/ constituit... fulgentiaque induit arma,/... exuvias, tibi tropaeum/ bellipotens,* 10.423 *haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit (Tybri pater).* For spoils on trees cf. Il. 10.466 ... θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην· δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ'ἔθηκε , Liv. 1.10.5 *ea (spolia opima) cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset.*

230 liquerat on the scarcity of the simplex *linquere* before it was used in hexameter poetry see J. Marouzeau, *R.E.L.* 10 (1932) 336–372. *linquere* instead of *relinquere* occurs in elevated speech; cf. Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 2.835.

ardenti of gold itself is unusual; *ardere auro* occurs in *G.* 4.99 and VF 5.139, *ardentis clipeos* in *Aen.* 2.734, followed by Stat. *Theb.* 4.723.

quercum ARh mentions in 2.404 the ἄλσος Ἄρεος where the fleece is ἐπ' ἄκρης/ 405 πεπτάμενον φηγοῖο; it is spoken of again in 4.124. There are few connections between Mars and the oak-tree (Jupiter's very own). One may connect the oak of *Aen.* 11.5ff. with Mars; compare further Suet. *Vesp.* 5.2 *in suburbano Flaviorum quercus antiqua, quae erat Marti sacra,* .... (A *spolia*-clad oak also occurs in *Aen.* 10.423, and in Stat. *Theb.* 2.707, copying *Aen.* 11.5 according to Mulder *ad Theb.* 2.704. A wild olive gets the votive presents in *Aen.* 12.766ff.).

complexa metallo cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.504f. *(vides ut) ales agat liquidoque polum complexa meatu/ pendeat,* and *Aen.* 6.144 *frondescit virga metallo.* Forms of *metallum* (*-is, -a, -o, -um*) always occupy the last position in the hexameter in Vergil (4 cases), Ovid (5), VF (5).

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231. quondam etiam tacitae visus per tempora noctis
232. effigie vasta socerumque exterruit ingens
233. prodita vox: 'o qui patria tellure fugatum
234. quaerentemque domos his me considere passus
235. sedibus, oblata generum mox prole petisti,
236. tunc tibi regnorum labes luctusque supersunt
237. rapta soporato fuerint cum vellera luco.

231 quondam 'once', beginning the story as in that of the Norican bovine plague (Verg. *G.* 3.478f.) *hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est/ tempestas.*

etiam '<he himself> as well' (has been seen).

tacitae . . . noctis cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.552 *tacitae . . . tempore noctis*, *Aen.* 4.527 = 7.87 *sub nocte silenti*, 2.255 *tacitae per amica silentia lunae.* Further instances of *tacita nox* in Smolenaars 185.

visus est in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.163 a dream of *Pelias* is mentioned in which Phrixus gives instructions for the quest of the Golden Fleece. Ehlers 1970:50 neatly explains how the dream of Pelias in 1.47ff., *false* (*fictis . . . dictis*, 1.39) in the plot of VF, is derived from other versions of the story in which the contents of the dream, for various reasons, are *true.*

232 vasta nearly 'awe-inspiring', thought of the person Phrixus; cf. Prop. 2.19.21 *ut vastos ausim temptare leones*, Ov. *Met.* 11.366 *belua vasta, lupus.*

socerumque the author calling Aeetes *socer* is speaking from the point of view of Phrixus, and emphasizes the familial piety implied in Phrixus' speaking of himself as *gener* in 235. (The two words may represent a topos ever since the violent end of the republic.) That Phrixus ever married Aeetes's (other) daughter has only been mentioned in 1.522f., and the reader can only know that she was called Chalciope from ARh (2.1149); further instances of the same (in 217–695) 366, 500, 528; for 1–216 see 7 n. The widow Chalciope occurs in 6.479, 7.156.

exterruit cf. *Aen.* 3.673 *quo (sc. clamore) exterrita tellus (sc. est)*, Enn. *Ann.* S35 = V36 (Ilia) *exterrita somno*, Cic. *Div.* 2.129 *visa . . ., quae illi exterriti somno ad coniectorem mane deferant*, Val. Max. 1.6.5 *bos namque mugito suo in sermonem humanum . . . animos exterruit.*

233 prodita 'a terrible voice is on record' (prosaic *prodere* as in Mela 2.104 *ut Homerico carmine proditum est*).

vox on voices announcing disasters cf. Cic. *div.* 1.99, 101, *Aen.* 4.460, or the voice heard right before Caesar's death (*e.g.*, Verg. *G.* 1.476 *vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentis/ ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris/ visa sub obscurum noctis, pecudesque locutae*), likely to have been the model for the present lines (*vox ingens).*

patria tellure fugatum Phrixus stresses his life as an exile and accordingly there is irony in Jason's having addressed him in 197 as someone probably still loyal to his *patrias terras* (cf. Shelton 277).

234 considere cf. *Aen.* 6.67f. *(da) Latio considere Teucros.*

passus (*sc. es*).

235 oblata cf. 8.394 *et posse oblata componere virgine bellum*, Suet. *Dom.* 22 *fratris filiam . . . oblatam in matrimonium sibi cum . . . recusasset.*

generum . . . petisti (sc. me) cf. *Aen.* 7.236ff. *multi nos populi . . . et petiere sibi et voluere adiungere gentes.*

236 labes Shelton 277 sees an allusion to 1.542f. where Jupiter is prophesying the collapse of Troy.

supersunt instead of a future tense, preceding the future perfect *fuerint*; *supererunt* would be metrically impossible. For present tense where future is expected see Sz. 307ff.

237 cum occupying the fourth place after its prosaic position; VF goes as far as the 8th position in 7.648.

soporato luco Langen takes *lucus* as metonymy for the dragon; this is rather over-rational, since Phrixus is warning against sleep overcoming the grove, the atmosphere, and everything in it. *soporare* is used already in *Aen.* 5.855 and 6.420.

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238. praeterea infernae quae nunc sacrata Dianae
239. fert castos Medea choros, quaecumque procorum
240. pacta petat, maneat regnis ne virgo paternis'.

238 praeterea There is a change of taste from golden to silver Latin; the word occurs 95 times in Lucr., 26 times in Verg., not in Luc., once (here) in VF, 5 times in Stat., 6 times in Sil.

infernae . . . Dianae for Hecate, the patroness of Magic; cf. Theocr. *Id.* 2.12 τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτᾳ, equated as she is from early times with Artemis, the expression is logical, but not found elsewhere. Some made Hecate the spouse of Aeetes, and by him mother of Circe and Medea (Diod. Sic. 4.45, Scholiast *ad* ARh 3.200, 3.240).

Dianae VF has *Dianae* 8 times, always in the last position in the verse, with the first syllable *Di-* short in scansion (as in the present book 345, 379, and as in the *Aeneid* 10 times, including once *Dianam* and once *Diana* (abl.)). However, in the only case in VF where Diana comes earlier in the verse, *Di-* is long (4.60), as in its single counterpart *Aen.* 1.499.

sacrata cf. Sen. *Oed.* 291 *sacrate divis* (Oedipus to Teresias).

239 fert . . . choros Langen *ad* 2.282 gives a long list of instances of *ferre* with several unexpected objects; Poortvliet 167 interprets the present case as a periphrasis for χορεύω, with *ferre pedem* as the point

of departure. For *chorus* in connection with Diana cf. *Aen.* 1.498f. *qualis . . ./ exercet Diana choros*, Prop. 2.28.60 *munera Dianae debita redde choros*, Ov. *Met.* 2.441 *suo comitata choro Dictynna (= Diana).*

castos . . . choros for *casta* in connection with Diana cf. 335 n.

Medea on the present first occurrence of her name see 219 *infanda* n.

quaecumque (C), *quemcumque* (L), *quecumque* **V**, *quicumque* Burman, Langen, Courtney. The interpretation depends on *pacta.* When this is taken as a plural of *pactum* ('marriage', Langen), *quaecumque* and *quicumque* are possible. In fact a case can be made for *pacta* as 'marriage' (8.221f. *ausus sua pacta docere/ promissamque fidem thalami foedusque iugale*, and the analogy to *Aen.* 4.535 *petam conubia supplex*). *quaecumque procorum pacta* is good Latin and supported by **C**. It is attractive to consider *procorum* an objective genetive.

In Sen. *Med.* 218 *petebant tunc meos thalamos proci* the *proci* are the active party, as in *quicumque procorum*; but the change of subject, Medea becoming again subject of *maneat*, makes the conjecture *quicumque* unattractive. On the other hand *pacta* referring to Medea, as a passive participle of *paciscere* ('betrothed'), is used in VF 6.44, 6.274 = *Aen.* 10.722, 6.585, 3.495. – *pactus maritam* (active, from *pacisci*) occurs in Man. 5.578.

240 If *quemcumque* **L** were read, *petat* with personal object would recur very soon after 235 *generum . . . petisti* (cf. *Aen.* 7.54 *multi illam. . . . petebant*, 7.97, Ov. *Ep.* 17.104, *Met.* 4.697).

*

241. dixit et admota pariter fatalia visus
242. tradere terga manu, tum falso fusus ab auro
243. currere per summi fulgor laquearia tecti.
244. membra toris rapit ille tremens patriumque precatur
245. numen et eoo surgentes litore currus:

241 admota (manu) 'with extended hand', a strong image as if from a film; cf. (TLL 1.772.44ff.) Prop. 1.3.16 *osculaque admota sumere tarda manu* (of Cynthia sleeping), Ov. *Pont.* 4.7.43 *admotaque dextera dextrae.*

fatalia OLD 4 'acting as the instrument of fate, fateful'; cf. *Aen.* 2.237 *scandit fatalis machina muros*, 12.919 *telum Aeneas fatale coruscat.*

242 falso . . . auro since the fleece is not made of plated gold,

but *really* a Golden Fleece, J.A. Wagner suggested that *falsus* is used here because it is only shining in a dream; cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.404 *falsaque saevarum simulacra ululare ferarum.* The use is different in *Met.* 5.11f. *nec falsum versus in aurum/ Iuppiter,* or *Aen.* 1.407f. *falsis/ ludis imaginis,* where a disguise is involved.

fusus (fulgor) cf. (TLL 6.1.1566.6ff.) *Aen.* 2.682f. *visus . . ./ fundere lumen,* 3.151f. *se/ plena . . . fundebat luna,* VF 1.572 *lumenque fundit.*

243 visus (sc. est) . . . currere (the latter not an historic infinitive as Contino 23 has it).

summi . . . laquearia tecti *laqueare* is an infrequent word (TLL 7.2.959.29ff.), in poetry from the model *Aen.* 8.25 *summique ferit laquearia tecti* or *Aen.* 1.726 onwards.

244 rapit possibly the model for *Arg. Orph.* 786f. ταῦτα δ' ἐσαθρήσας δολίου ἐξέσσυτο ὕπνου/ ἀπροφάτως. Vian 25 gives a series of parallels between VF and the *Arg. Orph.* that do not come from ARh; he speculates that this does not amount to full proof that the author of the *Arg. Orph.* had read VF in Latin, and that the possibility exists that he, as well as VF, made use of the same pre-VF source. *membra toris rapit* is one of those emotional ways of speaking as also found in 8 etc. (see Index, Style).

245 eoo cf. 76n.

currus used of the Sun's chariot in Verg. *G.* 3.358f. *(Sol) cum/. . . Oceani . . . lavit aequore currum,* Ov. *Met.* 2.104 *flagrat cupidine currus (Phaeton)*; cf. Eurip. *Phoen.* 2f. χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβὼς δίφροις/ Ἥλιε.

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246. 'haec tibi: fatorum, genitor, tutela meorum,
247. omnituens, tua nunc terris, tua lumina toto
248. sparge mari. seu nostra dolos molitur opertos
249. sive externa manus, primus mihi nuntius esto.

246ff. The prayer of Aeetes to his father the Sun (who took his side in VF 1.503ff.) contains several words from the *Aeneid,* but from different books.

246 haec tibi a knotty piece of Latin inviting comment. To fill in the ellipse a word of communication (with a dative complement) may be supplied, as in various ellipses of *dicere.* The next question is whether *tutela* is a vocative in line with *genitor,* or to be combined

with a copula (Löhbach 1869 *ad loc.*: *haec sit tutela*). I prefer the interpretation 'this <is what I ask> you, father, all-seeing helper in my need: throw your rays on land and sea'. This would call for having a semi-colon or at least a comma between *tibi* and *fatorum*, as all recent editors had, except for Kramer and Ehlers (printing a comma after *fatorum*), and two others who had completely different conjectures: Baehrens (*praescie*) and Courtney (*est tibi*). Shackleton Bailey suggested *audi* (written as *auc t*^{i}).

tutela cf. 5.643 *est amor et rerum cunctis tutela suarum*, Ov. *Met.* 8.711 *templi tutela fuere* (Philemon and Baucis), Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.32 *haec inter castae genius tutelaque mensae/ Amphitryoniades* (a statuette).

omnituens occurs only here, in Lucr. 2.942 and Apul. *Mun.* 29; TLL 9.2.624.64 compares the Aeschylean πανόπτης (*Prom. Vinct.* 91 τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου, *Eumenid.* 1045 Ζεὺς πανόπτας).

247 ... tuens; tua ... terris, tua ... toto interspersed alliteration; cf. 219 n.

248 (lumina) sparge cf. Lucr. 2.144 *aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras*, *Aen.* 4.584 = 9.459 *et iam prima (Aurora) novo spargebat lumine terras*, 12.113f. *postera vix summos spargebat lumine montis/ orta dies*, Sen. *Med.* 74 *radios spargere lucidos*. There is a slight play involved: Aurora scatters 'light', here Mozley translates 'cast now thine eyes' (cf. *omnituens*), which in the Sun's case is not different from casting rays.

opertos cf. *G.* 1.464f. *ille (sc. Sol!) . . ./ . . . monet . . . et operta tumescere bella.*

249 externa manus 'foreign': cf. *Aen.* 7.68f. *"externum cernimus" inquit/ "adventare virum".*

nuntius esto from *Aen.* 4.237 *hic nostri nuntius esto.*

*

250. tu quoque, sacrata rutilant cui vellera quercu,
251. excubias, Gradive, tene. praesentia luco
252. arma tubaeque sonent, vox et tua noctibus exstet'.

250 tu quoque occurs several times in the *Aeneid* (as well as *te quoque*) to break by apostrophe the monotony of a catalogue; similarly in VF 1.391. Other cases (present line, 7.248, 8.104) add emotion by emphasizing a speakers's special relationship with the addressee.

sacrata ... quercu for *sacrata* cf. 238 *sacrata Dianae*; for the oak cf. 230 n.

rutilant 'to glow with a golden red colour' (OLD 1), as in *Aen.* 8.529 *(arma) rutilare vident,* Sen. *Oed.* 137 *aureo taurus rutilante cornu,* Stat. *Theb.* 2.530 *galeasque videt rutilare comantes.*

251 excubias Heinsius conjectured *exuvias,* which is used in fact by VF in 5.491 *auratae pecudis* (similar context), 6.358 *bovis,* 3.721 *leonis.* However, the fact that *tenere excubias* is not used elsewhere (TLL 5.2.1287.14ff., Val. Max. 1.1.16 is uncertain) does not argue convincingly against it in an author of so original a brand of Latin. The expression heightens the tension. In addition it can be considered to render poetically *Mars vigila,* the cry of a Roman general in the shrine of Mars when war was declared; on which cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.3 *nam is qui belli susceperat curam, sacrarium Martis ingressus primo ancilia commovebat, post hastam simulacri ipsius, dicens Mars vigila.* Other examples of allusions to Roman lore or customs in Summers 56, 57.

praesentia luco the *praesentia arma* point to something more than just the weapons: the god himself is manifest in person, in his full armour. Köstlin's (1880:435) *luce,* in its contrast to *noctibus,* is perhaps for an worried prayer too much derived from a wish to create balance, while on the other hand *luco* adds a visual aspect.

252 arma tubaeque sonent cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.685f. *nec illis omnibus arma/ nec clipei currusve sonant ('clash'),* 9.731f., *G.* 3.83 *si qua sonum procul arma dedere,* Sil. 12.181ff. *insonuere tubae passim clamorque virorum/ hinnitusque, simul litui raucoque tumultu/ cornua et in membris concussa furentibus arma.* Hannibal makes a noise deliberately in Sil. 12.684f. *clipeoque tremendum/ increpat atque armis imitatur murmura caeli.* Compare VF 5.654 *lituos . . . armaque* n.

vox cf. the mighty voice of Ares in Hom. *Il.* 5.863 τόσον ἔβραχ' Ἄρης, ἆτος πολέμοιο, 13.521 βριήπυος ὄβριμος Ἄρης.

exstet metaphorically of a voice that is conspicuous like a protruding landmark, cf. Flor. *Epit.* 4.2.37 = 2.13.37 *exstat ad trepidum tanto discrimine gubernatorem vox ipsius 'quid times? Caesarem vehis!'.*

*

253. vix ea, Caucaseis cum lapsus montibus anguis
254. haud sine mente dei spiris nemus omne refusis
255. implicuit Graiumque procul respexit ad orbem.

253 vix ea ellipses of *verba dicendi* are listed by Langen *ad* 1.174;

cf. 552 '. . .' *omnes (sc. dixerunt)*, *Aen.* 11.296 *vix ea legati, variusque per ora cucurrit (fremor).*

Caucaseis emphasizing the barbaric context, as in Ov. *Ars.* 3.195 *sed non Caucasea doceo de rupe puellas.*

lapsus cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.720ff. *(Aesculapius) deus explicat orbes/ perque sinus crebros et magna volumina labens/ templa parentis init.*

anguis dragons were familiar to the Roman public. Various dragons listed in OLD are: the present one in VF 7.166ff., quoted in 254 n., Ov. *Ep.* 12.60 *ante meos oculos pervigil anguis erat* (Medea speaking), Juv. 14.114 *serpens aut Ponticus*, Cadmon's in Ov. *Met.* 3.32, Stat. *Theb.* 10.806 *Martius anguis*, the Hydra in VF 1.35 *Lernae ab angue*; the Python in Stat. *Theb.* 6.359, the one guarding the Garden of the Hesperides in Sil. 6.184 *Iunonius anguis* (called Λάδων . . . χθόνιος ὄφις in ARh 4.1396ff.). The *Martius anguis* of Cadmon (cf. Eurip. Phoen. 657f. δράκων Ἄρεος , and, for the story, Hunter 226) has a relevance to the present situation in as far as Aeetes prepares to sow dragon's teeth (7.68, ARh 3.414) giving rise to earthborn warriors, as did those of Cadmon's dragon.

254 haud sine mente dei cf. *Aen.* 5.56 *haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum.* For *deus* cf. 4.479 *mentemque Iovis.* The *deus* here answering the prayer can only be Mars.

spiris nemus omne cf. 7.166ff. *anguem/ qui nemus omne suum, quique aurea (respice porro)/ vellera tot spiris circum, tot ductibus implet.* Strand 77f. gives a number of arguments supporting the conclusion that, in the present case as well as in 7.166ff., the serpent only encircles the tree carrying the fleece, because elsewhere a tree is mentioned in this context: 7.519, 7.527. *nemus* for one tree only is bold, but *nemus* can refer to leaves and branches, for which several parallels present themselves, and from there *nemus* has been extended to the limit in the sense of 'tree'.

refusis Carrio's reading (from his *vet. cod*) for *refosis V, refossis L.* Passive *refundi* is used for moving back (Luc. 8.105f., Stat. *Theb.* 5.220); with a snake the expression looks like an experiment in extending its use still further ('to bend back', in the way of a caterpillar), shared by Stat. *Theb.* 5.562f. *iam mollia colla refusus/ in tergum serpens venientem exhauserat ictum.*

255 implicuit of a snake *Aen.* 2.214f. *corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque/ implicat.*

Graium . . . ad orbem apparently the dragon is visualized

as a snake trying to paralyse its victim by fixing its eyes on the potential robbers. For *orbis* as 'land' cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.99f. *Creten,/ qui meus est orbis*; slightly less appropriate *Epic. Drus.* = '*Cons. Liv.*' 391 *modo Germanus Romanis cognitus orbis.*

respexit 'to turn one's gaze upon' (OLD 2); cf. 6.201f. *dum sibila respicit Iron/ cuspidis Argivae, Pyliam latere accipit hastam,* 7.623f. *cum Tirynthius hydrae/ agmina Palladios defessus respicit ignes.* The verb is common in VF (26 cases, versus 20 in the *Aeneid*). There is a sense of looking *back* (which *respicere* has in most cases) only from the Greek point of view. Shelton 279 lets the serpent indicate (with its nose) the direction from where the threat will come.

*

256. ergo omnes prohibere minas praedictaque Phrixi
257. invigilat, plena necdum Medea iuventa
258. adnuitur thalamis Albani virgo tyranni.

256 minas praedictaque hendiadys 'the predicted menaces'.

257 (prohibere)... invigilat TLL quotes only one other occurrence of *invigilare* followed by an infinitive (Isid. (7th cent.) *Ep.* 6.11. p. 905A).

plena... iuventa *plena* as 'complete', 'having completed' (OLD 11); cf. *Aen.* 7.53 *iam plenis nubilis annis* (Lavinia). According to Rawson 27 and Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 9.714 (with ref.) the minimal legal age of marriage in Roman society was 12 for females, 14 for males. The normal age for most people was probably higher; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.302 *mille procos habuit bis septem nubilis annis* (Chione).

258 adnuitur the verb *adnuere* is fairly common in VF, but does not easily have a person as direct object, or, as here, a person as subject in the passive (cf. TLL *s.v.*).

Albani Albania is on the Caspian side of Iberia (Georgia), and more or less coincides with present-day Azerbeidjan.

tyranni probably VF uses the word not only as a neutral synonym of 'king', but adds pejorative connotations from the point of view of an audience siding with the hero of the story. For the sense of *tyrannus* see Harrison 187, Bond *ad* Eurip. *Heracl.* 29; compare further Cic. *Rep.* 2.47 *hic est enim dominus populi, quem Graeci tyrannum vocant; nam regem illum volunt esse, qui consulit ut parens populo,* as well as Sen. *Ag.* 251f. *rex Mycenarum fuit,/ veniet tyrannus; prospera animos efferunt,*

Sen. *Cl.* 9 (= 1.11).4 *quid interest inter tyrannum ac regem (species enim ipsa fortunae ac licentia par est), nisi quod tyranni in voluptatem saeviunt, reges non nisi ex causa ac necessitate?*

d3. 259–277. Perses

Dissension stirs the Colchians: warned by the dream of Phrixus, Aeetes refuses ever to yield the Fleece. His brother revolts, but is expelled. The very day of Iason's arrival Perses has closed in upon Aea. For the story cf. 3.492ff.

*

259. Interea auguriis monstrisque minacibus urbem
260. territat ante monens semper deus et data seri
261. signa mali, reddi iubet exitiale sacerdos
262. vellus et Haemoniis infaustum mittere terris.

259 interea for the word meaning a loose 'next' see Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.1 (*pace* T.E. Kinsey, *Glotta* 57 (1979) 259–265).

auguriis cf. *Aen.* 5.522f. *magnoque futurum/ augurio monstrum,* 3.5 *auguriis agimur divum.*

monstrisque cf. *Aen.* 2.171 *nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.*

minacibus cf. Verg. *G.* 1.483ff. *nec tempore eodem/ tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces/ aut puteis manare cruor cessavit,* Ov. *Met.* 15.571ff. *quidquid . . . monstro portenditur isto,/ seu laetum est . . ./ sive minax.* – Note the alliteration *monstrisque minacibus . . ./. . . monens* (cf. 217 n., 219 n.).

260 monens . . . deus in view of *Aen.* 4.187, *(Fama) magnas territat urbes,* this god is *Fama,* not, as J.A. Wagner had it, *dii omnino*; compare further *Aen.* 12.852 *meritas aut bello territat urbes.*

seri (mali) 'of future ills'; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.57 *arbos . . . seris factura nepotibus umbram,* Ov. *Pont.* 1.4.23f. *aspice, in has partes quod venerit Aesone natus/ quam laudem a sera posteritate ferat,* Luc. 10.263f. *post mundi sera peracti/ saecula.*

261 exitiale the Fleece considered a 'Trojan horse', as in *Aen.* 2.31 *donum exitiale Minervae.*

262 Haemoniis cf. 127 n. for the country (Thessaly), and for the use of the adjective Tib. 1.5.45 *Haemonium . . . Pelea,* Prop. 1.13.21 *Haemonio . . . Enipeo.*

infaustum since **V** and **L** give a *vox nihili* (*infastum*), the choice

is between *infaustum* (ed. princ.) and *infestum* Carrio. The former seems better to express the sense of doom surrounding the Fleece.

terris *et* may link *reddi* and *mittere* (for their coordination see 665 n.); *terris* is a dative of direction to *mittere.*

*

263. contra Sole satus Phrixi praecepta volutans
264. aegro corde negat; nec vulgi cura tyranno
265. dum sua sit modo tuta salus. tunc ordine regi
266. proximus et frater materno sanguine Perses
267. increpitare virum, sequitur duce turba recepto.

263–272 deals with a complicated piece of history, told as swiftly as possible, with the speed implied in several words: the historic infinitive, *se proripit, praecipitat, rapit inde.* A similar swift sequence tells the story of the sculptures 415–454. The disdain for the tyrant could have been found in Tacitus.

263 Sole satus Aeetes; cf. on his sister Ov. *Met.* 14.10 *Sole satae Circes. He* is the son of the Sun god, Perses only a brother from the same mother (266). *sole satus* also in 456, 567. Compare 223 n. *Soligenae.*

volutans/ (aegro corde) cf. *Aen.* 6.185 *tristi cum corde volutat.*

264 aegro corde cf. 131 n. For the peculiar first metrical foot cf. 53 n. It gives an air of sombre resolution (in particular after the similar *contra* of 263), in accordance with the message of *aegro corde.*

negat; nec Courtney puts a comma after *negat,* Ehlers has no punctuation. I should even prefer a semicolon to prevent confusion; there is a change of subject and *nec* is **not** dependent on *negat.*

nec vulgi cura tyranno/ dum sit sua modo salus the sense of the aphorism seems related to the portrait the author's contemporary Seneca gives of a tyrant in the *Thyestes* 205 *maximum hoc regni bonum est,/ quod facta domini cogitur populus sui/ tam ferre quam laudare,* 217 *sanctitas pietas fides/ privata bona sunt; qua iuvat reges eant.*

265 dum . . . modo with tmesis, unusual. TLL (5.1.2232.56ff.), after a few instances in the comedians, lists as the only other occurrences in classical Latin Sen. (Mai.) *Con.* 2.pr.4 *ego, . . ., hortator laudatorque vel periculosae dum honestae modo industriae . . .,* and *CIL* 5.5719 = *Anth.lat.* 1449 *hoc qui scire cupis iaceant quae membra sepulchro,/ disces, dum relegas hos modo versiculos (desunt IV versus).* The inserted attribute gets more emphasis.

dum sua sit modo tuta salus 'provided his own well-being is guaranteed'. – Note the alliteration (cf. 217 n., 219 n.).

ordine 'in rank', *h.l.* 'in order of succession'; cf. Cic. *LegAgr.* 2.24 . . . *magistratibus quorum certus ordo est*, Ov. *Pont.* 4.7.49f. *pugnat ad exemplum primi minor ordine pili/ miles.*

266 frater the scholiast ad ARh 3.200 tells us that Dionysius of Miletus had in his *Argonautics* both Aeetes and Perses as sons of the Sun, the latter king of the Taurians; the same is found in Hyg. *Fab.* pr.36 (cf. 581 n.) and in Diod.Sic. 4.45, where Hecate is the daughter of Perses, murders her father and afterwards marries Aeetes to bear him two daughters, Circe and Medea. The same has Hyg. *Fab.* pr. 36; cf. 581 n. Obviously, this is different version from the one followed by VF. The implication of *frater materno sanguine* is that Aeetes and Perses (on whom cf. E. Wüste RE 19. 973f.) only had the same mother (Perse or Perseis, cf. E. Wüste RE 19.938ff.), which is not recorded elsewhere; otherwise the expression would be very awkward. Apollod. 1.9.1 lists as children of the Sun and Perseis Aeetes, Circe and Pasiphae, omitting Perses, whom in 1.9.28 he calls a brother to Aeetes. Such a tradition may be the source of VF's version. – In Hyg. 244 Medus (cf. 687 n.), son of Medea, kills Perses to inherit his kingdom and call it Media; in Apollod. 1.9.28 it is Medea herself who kills him. Perses is not mentioned by ARh, but comes in conveniently for the story, possibly suggesting to the naive reader that the Persian kingdom is involved.

267 increpitare historic infinititive, see 127 n.

virum for *eum* (with the avoidance of inflected cases of *is* characteristic for epic) cf. Wölfflin and Meader, ALL 11.269–393, Axelson 70ff. Other examples of *virum* for *eum* in book 5 are 401, 592.

sequitur duce . . . reperto as crowds still do.

*

268. ille furens ira solio se proripit alto
269. praecipitatque patres ipsum quin talibus ausis
270. spem sibi iam rerum vulgi levitate serentem
271. ense petit. rapit inde fugam crudelia Perses
272. signa gerens omnemque quatit rumoribus Arcton.

268 solio the *solium* is the traditional attribute of a king (since

Aeschyl. *Choeph.* 975, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 425): Sen. *Thy.* 887 *teneo nunc solium patris,* Stat. *Theb.* 11.720 *et hic (Polynices) his quondam solio sublimis et armis.* The throne is *altus*: *Aen.* 11.301 *solio rex (Latinus) infit ab alto,* 8.541 (*Aeneas*) *solio se tollit ab alto,* Sen. *Phaed.* 216, *Oed.* 271, or *excelsus* (*Tr.* 886f.), or the king sitting in it is *celsus* (*Tr.* 727, Sil. 12.747).

proripit cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.19 *quo nunc se proripit ille?*, *Aen.* 5.741 *quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?*

alto to impress his proud kingship upon the court, but rather an awkward contrast with *se proripit* – one would expect him stumbling. The source of the expression *solio se proripit alto* is Hom. *Il.* 20.62 ἐκ θρόνου ἆλτο (Hades); cf. Hannibal sitting in state in Sil. 11.233f. *tonat inde ferocibus alte/ incessens victor dictis.* To what extend there is a play involved in *alto* (though with long *-o*)/ ἆλτο is difficult to say. – For *alto* as the last word in a hexameter cf. *Aen.* 8.541, 11.301, quoted above.

269 praecipitat 'in a hurry he breaks through the senators'. Langen *ad* 4.627 lists many objects to *praecipitare*: *nubes, socios,* and in several other poets as well: *equos, hostes, mentem, fatum, viros, soles;* but the most peculiar use is in VF 1.755f. where *arasque vestemque nemusque sacerdos/ praecipitat* (something like 'running away from altar and grove, shedding his garments').[32]

patres the author provides the Colchians with a senate, just as Rome has one. – Note the alliteration *proripit.../ praecipitatque patres* (cf. 217 n., 219 n.).

quin there is a conjecture *–que ut* by Südhaus in Kramer for *qui* **V** and **L**. **C** (vet. cod.) has *quoque.* Other conjectures are *quin* Heinsius,[33] *qui talibus auctor* Baehrens. *quin* is printed by Thilo, Schenkl, Langen, Bury, Giarratano, Kramer, Mozley, Courtney; Ehlers has *-que ut,* and he as well as Courtney refer to 215, where they opt for *-que ut* Südhaus instead of *qui* Mss. (In 215 I prefer to retain *qui*). *praecipitat patres, qui ... ense petit* gives awkward Latin, with the sense of 'Pushing away the senate, Aeetes attacked with the sword', where a connective would be expected instead of a relative pronoun. (*-que* and *et* are metrically impossible). *ipsum quin ... ense petit,* 'even Perses

[32] Strand 76 takes *nemus* as 'branches', or 'wreath' (but himself quotes Sen. *Thy.* 650–656, where a sacred wood inside the palace is described). Strand 70 lets the altar being turned over.

[33] Thilo attributes *quin* to Heinsius, who, in Burman, wrote *forte ipsum quin.* Courtney gives Balbus (1524) as the *inventor* of *quin*; I have not consulted Balbus in the original.

himself he attacks with the sword' is possible in so far as *quin* without *etiam* is attested (see 82 n.). *quoque* is very weak and flat, a mere metrical stopgap. It was in Carrio's *vet.cod.*, but, who knows, may have been in a corrector's hand. My preference is *ipsum quin*. Some examples of *quin* with a pronoun from Tacitus are *Ann.* 1.79.3 *quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere*, 4.31.4, *Dial.* 39.3, *Ger.* 34.2.

talibus ausis cf. that fine line VF 4.653 *stetimus tamen et deus adfuit ausis*, *Aen.* 2.535 = 12.351 *pro talibus ausis*, 9.281 *fortibus ausis*, with *ausis* in the same final position in the verse.

270 spem . . . serentem other metaphorical objects to *serere* are *curas* (Catul. 64.72), *crimina belli* (*Aen.* 7.339); cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1044 καινοτάτας σπείραντ' . . . διανοίας. – Note the alliteration (cf. 217 n., 219 n.).

vulgi levitate 'fickleness', cf. 1.70 *populumne levem*, Cic. *Phil.* 7.4 *haec illi loquuntur qui quondam propter levitatem 'populares' habebantur.* Ovid uses *leve vulgus* (*Met.* 12.53) for lesser gods like *Fama, Credulitas, Error*, etc.

271 ense petit cf. *Tib.* 1.9.21f. *pete ferro corpus*, Luc. 3.711 *glande petens*; Vergil has *ense ferit* only (thrice).

rapit cf. 41 n.

crudelia (signa) both brothers were cruel; cf. Diod.Sic. 4.45.1 ἀμφοτέρους δὲ διενεγκεῖν ὠμότητι, *ibid.* 46.1 διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὠμότητα (Aeetes). For *signa* as 'scars on the body', cf. Plin. *Nat.* 7.50 *signa quaedam naevosque et cicatrices etiam regenerari (vulgata sunt)*, and Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.541f.

272 quatit rumoribus Arcton cf. 2.122 *motis quatit (sc. Fama) oppida linguis*, (and *Aen.* 9.608 *quatit oppida bello*). There are some instances of *quatere* with a person as subject and a region as object, as in Plin. *Nat.* 2.97 *cum rex Philippus Graeciam quateret*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.28 *aliam manum iubet (Civilis), ut Menapios et Morinos et extrema Galliarum quateret.* In these the subject *threatens* the country; in the present case the *rumours* are shaking the North (enallage, cf. Hillen 176ff.). They, in their turn, muster the people to come and help Perses.

*

273. iamque aderat magnis regum cum milibus urbi
274. primaque in adversos frustratus proelia muros

275. constiterat. datus et sociis utrimque cremandis
276. ille dies alterque dies, cum Marte remisso
277. debitus Aeaeis dux Thessalus adpulit oris.

273 iamque aderat = 1.255; cf. 2.147 *iamque aderunt, Aen.* 12.391 *iamque aderat . . . Iapyx.*

magnis regum cum milibus *regum* **C** for *regnum* **V** and **L**; cf 6.172 *ingentesque inter sua milia reges.* The expression has given rise to conjecture based on reproaching VF for the hyperbole involved in 'thousands of kings'; but Samuelsson 1899:121 gives a simple solution: 'the thousands <of soldiers> of <a few> kings'. For ellipsis of soldiers, etc., cf. VF 6.60 *veniens cum milibus Auchus, Aen.* 9.549 *ubi se Turni media inter milia vidit,* 5.75 *multis cum milibus ibat,* Ov. *Fast.* 2.229 *quid faciant pauci contra tot milia fortes? magna* going with *milia* is unparalleled.

274 in adversos . . . proelia muros cf. Caes. *Gal.* 3.14.2 *naves eorum . . . profectae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt.*

frustratus cf. *Aen.* 12.95f. *frustrata hasta*; absolutely, with *proelia* as accusative of respect, it is a bold use, like Tac. *Ann.* 16.8 *qui appellato principe instantem damnationem frustrati. . . .*

275 datus et sociis cremandis (. . . dies) cf. *Aen.* 11.2 *quamquam et sociis dare tempus humandis/. . . turbataque . . . mens est.* A. Hudson-Williams (*Mnemosyne* 26(1973)26f.) asks what *et* essentially expresses; and concludes that Valerius may include too much of his original (Vergil), because *et* is derived from *Aen.* 11.2f., where *et* – *que* means 'both – and' (which it does not in VF because TLL 5.2.888.20ff. mentions a limited number of coordinated adjectives, as in Vergil, but only three examples of coordinated substantives, all from prose). Hudson-Williams points to a case of superfluous *et* in 7.554, where, indeed, the word does not appear to add sense.[34] In the present passage, however, *et* can be understood as 'moreover'.

utrimque with *u- in thesi* lengthened. Kösters 91ff. gives a table of the effect of 'muta cum liquida'; only with *-tr* do the consonants in the great majority of cases (130/177) not make position. In all other combinations either they make position about as often as not, or only rarely fail to do so.

276 dies alterque dies cf. *Aen.* 3.356 *iamque dies alterque dies processit.*

[34] Other examples of following Vergil too closely in 352 n., 383 n., 391 n.

Marte remisso 'war laid aside', meaning 'interrupted'; cf. 5.665 *cuperem haec . . . bella remitti*, 681 *bellumque remittet*, or elsewhere Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.67f. *Venus et remisso/ filius arcu.*

277 debitus see 21 n. At this moment, it lends importance to Jason to be announced as *debitus dux* (Shelton 282: 'one fated to have some part in this conflict').

dux Thessalus cf. 218 *Thessalici . . . ducis*; *thessalus* seems used *metri causa*, for which VF had a precedent in classical Greek, Eur. *Hipp.* 220ff. ῥῖψαι/ θεσσαλὸν ὅρπακ', ἐπίλογχον, ἔχουσα/ ἐν χειρὶ βέλος (but cf. Sen. *Phaedr.* 397 *hastile . . . Thessalicum*). In Latin *Thessalus* was more often so used: *Thessala pectora* Acc. *Tr.* R 611/612 = W 637/ 638, Catul. 64. 280f. *Thessala . . . ora*, Prop. 2.22.30 *Thessala tela*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.4 *Thessala Tempe*, Sen. *Med.* 336 *Thessala pinus*. To the latter cases can be compared *ad Tempe Thessalica* Liv. 33.35.7, 39.24.14, and in VF *Thessalicus* applied to *puppis* (1.380 and 5.622), *carina* (7.220), *ratis* (5.530).

adpulit oris cf. 4.484 *sed vos deus adpulit oris*, Aen. 3.338 = 3.715 *(te), me . . . deus adpulit oris*, 7.38f. *advena classem/ cum . . . exercitus adpulit oris*, 1.377 *(nos) tempestas adpulit oris*; also intransitively, as here and in VF 3.536 *Haemonia puer appulit alno.*

d4. *278–296. the Goddesses*

Juno and Minerva discuss the position. The present dialogue appears to correspond to the one opening book 3 in ARh. Minerva asks which side is to be joined; Juno resolves to lend to Aeetes the support of Jason. Minerva agrees. Note the arrangement of these preparatory sections in two sequences of 19 verses each (cf. d3, Perses). To obtain such symmetry, one has to join 296 to section d4, as Ehlers does, unlike Courtney and all other recent editors.[35] – In ARh 3.7–35 Hera and Athena decide to invoke Cypris's assistance in charming Medea with love for Jason. In VF, Juno will accost Venus in 6.455ff. and 7.158ff.

*

278. Nox hominum genus et duros miserata labores
279. rettulerat fessis optata silentia terris.
280. at Iuno et summi virgo Iovis intima secum
281. consilia et varias sociabant pectore curas.

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[35] Adamietz 68 had already distinguished the same paragraph 278–296 as Ehlers.

278ff. Worries keeping people awake in the silent night, a theme from Homer (*Il.* 10.5ff.), ARh 3.744 Νὺξ μὲν ἔπειτ' . . ., *Aen.* 4.522 (with Pease).

278 Nox . . . miserata personification; cf. 3.211 *nox conscia,* 7.393 *stupet ipsa gravi nox tardior umbra.* The same holds for 279 *fessis terris,* see 279 n. On a night spent in suspense cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.5ff. as quoted *ad* 304–308, as well as *Aen.* 4.522ff., *nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem/ corpora per terras . . . cum tacet omnis ager . . . sub nocte silenti./ at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam/ solvitur in somnos.* On the same night see further 298 n.

hominum genus cf. VF 4.481 *miserans hominum genus,* 7.41 *quodnam hominum Minyae genus;* since Pl. *Poen.* 1187 *Iuppiter qui genu' colis alisque hominum.* A variation is 4.65 *gens hominum.* The expression goes back to Greek models as Soph. *Androm.* fr. 126.3 Radt, Eurip. *Hipp.* 618 βρότειον . . . γένος, Eurip. fr. 898.13 Nauck δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῇ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

miserata labores cf. *Aen.* 1.597 *miserata labores,* 6.56 *miserate labores.*

279 fessis . . . terris cf. 4.20 *tandem fessis pax reddita silvis,* 4.66 *fessaque cum silvis orant iuga; fessus* is not usually applied to countries or other impersonal entities (TLL 6.1.611.22ff.), but cf. Sen. *Phoen.* 284f. *fessis Thebis,* Tac. *Ann.* 2.5 *fessas Gallias ministrandis equis,* Sen. *Thy.* 198f. *numquid secundis patitur in rebus modum, fessis quietem?*

silentia implying 'relief from toil'; cf. Sen. *Thy* 198, and see preceeding note.

280 The metre is unusual, *sssd* in the terminology of Duckworth; in book 5 there are only four cases, 280, 477, 576, 596. Possibly it conveys something like the reticent beginnning of a conference, the more so as it is followed by a flow of dactyls.

at cf. *Aen.* 4.529 *at non infelix animi Phoenissa.*

virgo the long *-o* (*in arsi*) makes an interesting pair with *virgo* with short *-o* in 282; see 123 n.

virgo Iovis the expression is unparalleled. The concept, however, is popular; cf. Cic. *ND* 1.41 *in eo qui inscribitur de Minerva partum Iovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens diiungit a fabula.*

intima (consilia) cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1.17 *ad omnia intima istorum consilia . . . pervenimus, Sul.* 64 *ex intimis vestris cogitationibus, Aen.* 7.347 *praecordia ad intima.*

281 (consilia) et varias sociabant . . . curas cf. ARh 3.8ff. Ἥρη Ἀθηναίη τε . . . βούλευον. *sociare curas* has no parallel (TLL 4.1473.29); for *sociare consilia* cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.74.1 *praefectus Aegypti Ti. Alexander . . . consilia sociaverat* or *Hist.* 4.15.1 *missi ad Caninefatis qui consilia sociarent.*

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282. virgo prior 'magna pariter quos mole petamus?
283. cernis,' ait 'Colchos habeant quae proelia quique
284. nunc status. hinc Perses, illinc non viribus aequis
285. apparat Aeetes aciem. quibus addimur armis?'

282 virgo on the short *-o* see 280 n.

magna mole either the band of heroes (Langen) or their own support (*addimur*!).

petamus ('which people shall we attack together'): the editors give differing punctuation, that is, a comma (Thilo, Langen, Giarratano, Kramer), making *quos petamus* dependent on *cernis* or a question mark (Schenkl, Baehrens, Bury, Mozley, Courtney, Ehlers). Because *quae proelia* and *qui status* belong together, but on the other hand cannot easily be coordinated with *quos*, I feel that *petamus* is the dubitative subjunctive of a direct question; *habeant* (283) is the subjunctive of an indirect question dependent on *cernis*. Langen thinks *both* ways of punctuating unsatisfactory, because in 285 Minerva asks *again* which side they will join. In my opinion, however, the construction is quite appropriate to an agitated conversation. – Note the alliterations *prior* – *pariter* – *petamus*, *magna mole*; cf. 217 n., 219 n.

283 cernis . . . habeant quae proelia 'do you see what wars they are kept occupied with'; cf. *Aen.* 9.188 *cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum.* Langen *ad loc.* gives a long list of cases where *habere* is used of feelings or occupations possessing or vexing people, as in VF 8.1ff. *trepidam . . . Colchida . . . furiaeque minaeque/ patris habent.*

quique on *qui status* cf. 139 n.

284 status 'position', military or political. In the latter sense it is used by Cic. *Fam.* 13.68.1 = Sh.B. 211.1 *si ad me de republica, id est, de statu provinciae, de institutis tuis familiariter scribes,* or Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.133 *cum status urbis erit, qualem nunc auguror esse.*

hinc . . . illinc *hinc* followed by *illinc* occurs infrequently (TLL 6.3.2803.49ff.); in VF 4.257 (asyndetic), 5.529 (in reversed order, still more unusual), 6.413. Other examples are Lucr. 6.199, *Aen.* 4.442

nunc hinc, nunc flatibus illinc/... inter se certant, Verg. *G.* 1.509 *hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germanis bellum,* Ov. Met. 4.71., Man. 5.12ff.

non viribus aequis cf. *Aen.* 5.809 *nec viribus aequis,* or positive in *Aen.* 10.356, 431, 12.128, Luc. 4.665, Stat. *Theb.* 1.135.

285 In 284/285, *-a* sounds abound, making on my subjective ear a strong impression of hesitation, or, at least, of respect for Juno and leaving the decision to her.

apparat aciem cf. Man. 4.178f. *ille (sc. Leo) novas semper pugnas, nova bella ferarum/ apparat,* Sen. *Ag.* 192 *bella non levia apparas.*

addimur (in medio-passive sense according to TLL 1.580.21 and Langen *ad* 3.594): Summers 46 and Langen suppose that a dubitative question, although with indicative, is involved. Rather it is a plain request. For the passive form cf. *Aen.* 6.528 *additus* or *additur,* Petr. 124 v. 267 *comes additur illi/ Pallas,* Stat. *Theb.* 8.184 *venisti tamen (Amphiaraus) et miseris comes additus armis!* The alternative is to interprete *addimur* as an agentless passive, 'to which side is one joining us', but this appears inappropriate to gods.

Pallas is not certain about which side to join in view of VF 3.492ff., where Juno fraudulently asked Pallas to *promise to Perses* the support of the heroes; Pallas did comply, even though understanding that a trick was intended to remove her protective rôle towards Hercules. This was some days ago; possibly Pallas did not hurry. There is grim irony, even utter scepticism, involved in making the Argonauts fight the very man who would be willing to give them the Fleece without more ado (Shey 145), particularly when it is stressed (296 *pro laude*) that this would for the gods increase their *praise.* Schönberger 128 speaks of tyrannical gods, and men that *are lived,* of Man's purposeless exertion (Ferenczi, 1995).

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286. cui Iuno: 'dimitte metus, ne proelia forte
287. hinc tibi grata negem. manet ingens aegida sudor
288. et nostros iam sudor equos. stat pectore fixum
289. Aeetae sociare manus. scio perfida regis
290. corda quidem, nullos Minyis exsolvet honores.
291. verum alios tunc ipsa dolos, alia orsa movebo'.

286ff. The speech of Juno has many traits in common with that of Jupiter to Venus in *Aen.* 1.257ff. with *parce metu* (257; cf. VF 5.286), *manent... fata* (257f.; cf. VF 5.287), *neque me sententia vertit* (260; cf. VF

5.288), *arcana movebo* (262; cf. VF 5.291). Juno takes, accordingly, a dominant rôle, to which Pallas responds submissively (292).

286 dimitte metus cf. 7.240 *dimitte timorem*; also (TLL 5.1.1214.79) Stat. *Ach.* 1.892 *dubium dimitte pavorem.*

287 hinc temporal (Burman: after they did *not* fight the Amazons and other barbarians) rather than causal, as in 415 (conjecture of Heinsius) *nec minus hinc . . . dux laetus . . . / ad geminas fert ora fores.* I see no need for the conjecture *hic* Maserius.

ingens for filling a lacuna in the ed. princ. *iamiam (manet)* was printed; geminated *iam* followed by *iam* also in 4.126 (cf. Korn's note), 7.389. Carrio printed *ingens* (from the *vet. cod.: manet ingens*), Kurfess, in *Philol.* 91 (1936) 248, proposed *nostram*, provoking the criticism (of R. Helm, *Lustrum* 1 (1956) 251) 'the *aegis* of Pallas *and Iuno*?', and Löhbach 1872:11 *vestram* (too mechanically contrasted with *nostros*). Although there are some arguments for choosing *iamiam* (against commonplace *ingens*), *iamiam . . . sudor* with *iam sudor* in the next line is not elegant. *ingens* ('trefflich' Schenkl 330) has the best Ms. authority, and can stand.

sudor reminiscent of Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.9f. *heu heu quantis equis, quantus adest viris/ sudor*, itself based upon Hom. Il. 2.388ff. ἱδρώσει μέν τευ τελαμὼν ἀμφὶ στήθεσφιν/ ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης· . . . ·/ ἱδρώσει δέ τευ ἵππος ἐΰξοον ἅρμα τιταίνων. Whether *adest equis sudor* is really the inspiration for *sudor manet equos* (in combination with the repetition of ἱδρώσει, *quantus, sudor*) may be doubted; traces of Horace in VF are very faint (Grüneberg 86 *sed nescio num haec exempla satis firma sint ut imitatorem probent*). J. Stroux, *Philolog.* 90 (1935) 308, suspected influence of Horace with regard to motifs, and found evidence for some attempts at emulation. Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 3.210f. *quantus equis quantusque viris in pulvere crasso/ sudor*, which was inspired by Horace according to Snijder *ad loc.*

288 stat similar cases of *stat* in the sense of 'I have decided to', with the omission of *mihi* giving grandiosity, occur when Jupiter or Juno are speaking (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 602, Stat. *Theb.* 11. 131); it is copied by heroes (*Aen.* 2.750, 12.678) or kings (Sen. *Her.F.* 351).

290 quidem Kleywegt 1986: 2461 remarks that *quidem* belongs with *scio*, not with the word just before it (as would be usual Sz. 486), citing as a parallel Ov. *Met.* 11.689f. (*quidem . . . adsuetos*).

exsolvet honores *honores exsolvere* 'pay homage', or perhaps

'give them their due price', because *honor* is often used in that sense: *Aen.* 5.347 *si primi Salio reddentur honores*, Ov. Pont. 2.11.21 *ad palmae per se cursurus honores (equus)*. Different is Val. Max. 8.15 praef. *cum honorem industris appetit et exsolvi grate videmus*, referring to canvassing for an office and obtaining it. Compare further VF 7.284 *ei mihi quod nullas hic possum exsolvere grates*, [Tib.] Sulpicia 3.13.5 *exsolvit promissa Venus*, Cic. *Off.* 3.7 *(Panaetius) nec exsolvit id quod promiserat.*

291 orsa in the sense of 'undertakings' very rare. VF has it a few times, 5.195 *tu, precor, orsa regas*, 1.20f. *nunc nostra serenus/ orsa iuves*, also Stat. *Theb.* 6.358 *orsa deum/.../... tunc aperit* (sc. Apollo). For other neuter plurals used as substantives in VF cf. Summers 43. *alia orsa movebo* has the prosody of the end of *Aen.* 7.312 *(flectere si nequeo superos) Acheronta movebo*; compare further *Aen.* 1.262 *arcana movebo.* – Juno may seem to be whimsically scheming, but Lüthje 210 explains how only two people would be able to overcome the dragon, Hercules, whom Juno has ousted herself, and Medea. To obtain the latter's assistance, the Argonauts have to make their appearance as allies in league with the king.

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'sint precor haec; tua namque mihi comitanda potestas,'
Pallas ait 'liceat Grais ut reddere terris
Aesonium caput et puppem, quam struximus ipsae,
iactatam tandem nostro componere caelo'.
talia tunc hominum superi pro laude movebant.

292 sint precor haec cf. 491f. *gratia/ sit precor haec.*

namque according to Brakl 81ff. in VF four times in second position, as was not unusual in Augustan literature already (Sz. 506, J. Marouzeau, *L'ordre des môts dans la phrase latine*, Paris, 1949, 3.197f.): also in 1.49, 5.395, 8.180.

294 Aesonium caput though *caput* for 'person' is common enough (cf. 5.18, 486), with an adjective derived from a name it is not frequent, as in Ov. *Tr.* 3.5.46, *Pont.* 3.3.68 *Caesareum caput*; compare further *Aen.* 4.640 *Dardanii capitis*, 11.399f. *capiti Dardanio.*

struximus for 'to build' not only in poets (*Aen.* 3.84, 5.811, 11.204), but also in prose (Cato, Varro, Vitr. 2.1.7 *domos... e lapide structas*), like *construere*, which is unusual in poetry.

295 the metre is remarkable, of Duckworth's (1967) *ssss* type; cf.

10 n. The spondees paint the final and definitive coming to rest.

componere 'settle', as in *Aen.* 1.249, 374 *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*, 698, Ov. *Met.* 4.157 *componi tumulo . . . eodem*, Luc. 9.116, Sen. *Phoen.* 418 *sic agmen armis segne compositis venit.*

componere caelo for the story cf. Man. 1.412ff. *tum nobilis Argo/ in coelum subducta mari, quod prima cucurrit,/ emeritum magnis nondum tenet ante periclis,/ servando dea facta deos*, Man. 5.13 *et ratis heroum, quae nunc quoque navigat astris*, Stat. *Ach.* 2.77 *et ituram in sidera puppim*; Eratosthenes *Catast.* fr. 35 Robert p. 174 αὕτη διὰ τὴν 'Αθενᾶν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις ἐτάχθη – πρότη γὰρ αὕτη ναῦς κατεσκευάσθη, φονήεσσα δὲ γενομένη πρότη τὸ πέλαγος διεῖλεν ἄβατον ὄν – ἵν' ᾖ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις παράδειγμα σαφέστατον; cf. *Scholia Aratea vetera ad* 342 ed. Martin 1974.

Would it have been in the poet's plan to describe the final fate of the Argo? Prophecies about later events like 8.251 would suggest so: *et tibi iam nullos optavit, barbara, natos (Mopsus)*, or Medea's dream 5.338ff. Perhaps the later tragedy in Corinth may have been familiar to the reader, but the catasterism of the Argo was not (Ovid does not describe it).

With regard to the Argo's return journey, while it is not clear whether VF ever completed his project, we may at least assume that he had a blue-print in mind. Rather than repeating ARh's impossible trip over the Furka pass, sailing back by way of the Ocean would be in line with what VF aspired to, if followed by making a landfall in some ports of Italy. In passing he could mention the British Isles, as an appropriate tribute to the Emperor, or, if it came to that, to Vespasian's sons. Summers 7 assumed that he did so because the *Orphic Argonautics* have selected the Northern route back, and mention the words νήσοισιν 'Ιερνίσιν, which may refer to Britain.[36] In this connection I quote Summers 55 'and at a period when Rome's arms were penetrating further than ever into the wilds of Britain, who would not feel an interest in these heroes, who had first passed into waters once as strange as those of the North Sea?'.

In fact VF links Vespasian, Britain and the ocean in the proem 1.7ff. *tuque o pelagi cui maior aperti/ fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit/ Oceanus.* Lefèvre 50ff. explains that in the Flavian period

[36] The island 'Ιέρνη, *Hibernia*, was known to the Greeks already in 500 BC (Heichelheim and Maybee, *Kleine Pauly* 2:1127f.) and is mentioned by Caes. *Gal.* 5.13, Plin. *Nat.* 4.103, Tac. *Ag.* 24.1., Juv. 2.160, as well as several times by Strabo, *e.g.*, 2.1.13 (C72), 2.5.8 (C115), 4.5.4 (C201).

Vespasian was almost regarded as the conqueror of Britain (cf. Tac. *Ag.* 13.3 *initium venturae mox fortunae*), where he had campaigned in 43. Once Emperor, he had sent his commanders Cerealis and Agricola to Britain, the former in 71, the latter from 78 till 85. Only after Vespasian's death was Scotland circumnavigated, when *Thule* (the Shetland islands, cf. Ogilvie & Richmond *ad loc.*) was seen in the far distance (Tac. *Ag.* 10.4). The fact that Britain was known as an *island* might have suggested the trip long before; Pytheas had reported Britain's circumference (Plin. *Nat.* 4.102).

Again in Silius's Praise of the Flavians (3.594ff.) Vespasian is hailed as one whose *imperium* extends over the ocean[37] (in deliberate contrast to Augustus: cf. *Aen.* 1.286f.), and of whom it is said (Sil. 3.597–600):

hinc pater (= Vespasian) *ignotam donabit vincere Thylen*
(inque Caledonios primus trahet agmina lucos);
compescet ripis Rhenum, reget impiger Afros
palmiferamque senex bello domitabit Idumen.

Here I think *Thyle, Rhenus, Afri, Idume,* represent West, North, South, East, with Caledonia in parentheses in its real sense of Scotland (known by the time of Silius) and Thyle used for Britain. – For Thule as an island in the West cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.20 *Hesperiae . . . Thyles* (with Coleman 149: Thule is an example of Roman influence in the West. For the identification of Thule with *Britannia* cf. 4.4.62f. *nigrae litora Thyles . . . servare*; 5.2.54ff. *tu disce patrem, quantusque negantem/ fluctibus occiduo fessis Hyperione Thylen/ intrarit.* Roman soldiers were able to enter this border country situated in the direction of the sun-set; so any region beyond Britain is excluded. Finally, Sil. 17.416f. *caerulus . . . incola Thules/ agmina falcigero circumvenit . . . covinno* is based upon Caesar's description of Britain (*Gal.* 5.14.2).

296 talia after the deliberations of Dido with her sister Anna, possibly in the author's mind in view of the situation similar to the nocturnal conversations of Juno and Pallas, *Aen.* 4.437 reads *talibus orabat.*

superi the unspecifying plural for 'gods and goddesses', although only the latter have been acting.

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[37] See Lefèvre. Also Claudius (Suet. 17.3) had claimed to rule the waves, and, after his British expedition, had put up a naval crown *quasi domiti Oceani insigne*; cf. *Octavia* 26f. *modo cui totus paruit orbis/ ultra Oceanum*, 41f. *en qui Britannis primus imposuit iugum,/ ignota tantis classibus texit freta.* His nephew Caligula had made a fake expedition to Britain, after which shells (*'spolia Oceani'*, Suet. *Cal.* 46) were displayed.

pro laude cf. Tac. *Dial.* 16.3 *hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.*

movebant 'turned (such <plans>) over in the mind': cf. *Aen.* 3.34, 5.608, 10.890 *multa movens animo,* Ov. *Am.* 3.1.6 *quod mea, quaerebam, Musa moveret opus,* Stat. *Theb.* 12.183 *tunc movet arte dolum.*

d5. 297–328: the Minyans

During the night the Minyans and Jason are worried; finally the latter gives a confident speech (cf. ARh 3.171–193), and, with a small company, goes out to approach Aeetes.

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297. Tristior at numquam tantove paventibus ulla
298. nox Minyis egesta metu. nil quippe reperto
299. Phaside, nil domitis actum Symplegados undis
300. cunctaque adhuc, magni veniant dum regis ad urbem,
301. ambigua et dubia rerum pendentia summa.
302. praecipue Aesoniden varios incerta per aestus
303. mens rapit undantem curis ac multa novantem.

297 Tristior Praedicativum, related to *nox* in the same way as *tanto metu* is; Kleywegt 1986b:2460 compares 346 *altior ac nulla comitum certante (Proserpina)*; see also *Aen.* 6.640f. *largior . . . aether et lumine . . ./ purpureo.* – Other cases where the first word of a line goes with the first word of the next line, as in *tristior . . ./ nox* (298), are (Gebbing 57) 297f., 348f. *talis . . . Colchis,* 425f. *barbarus . . . Phasis,* 433f. *aurea . . . vellera,* 483f. *sceptra . . . maxima.* Contino, missing some of these, adds cases combining the agent with a finite verb: 91f. *talis . . . emicuit,* 198f. *tu . . . adnue,* 356f. *audit . . . Henioche.*

paventibus for the frequent use of *pavere* in VF cf. 5 n.

298 nox this is still the same night as in 278. In the meantime the goddesses' action has been described; in the resumption of the story, *nox* receives focus from its position opening the line. In 329 *per noctem* yet another aspect of the night is narrated.

egesta it has been proposed (Courtney 1965:151 following Leumann, *Kleine Schr.* 1959:138) that *egesta* would have been coined on the analogy of *Aen.* 6.513f. *noctem egerimus* (a perfect derived from *noctem agere*). S. Koster dedicated a paper (*Philolog.* 117 (1973) 87/88) to this and similar examples of VF's supposed lack of fluency in Latin, and rejected the interpretation. He takes the prefix *e-* as rather indi-

cating 'carrying to the bitter end'. He does not think that the *Aeneid* can be the model, where the last night in Troy was spent in vane pleasures. The verb *egerere* can be compared to VF 8.454 *egeritur dies* and (OLD *s.v.* 6c) Luc. 3.718 *egere, quod superest animae.*

quippe the subjective colouring, as if we heard the Minyae explaining their position to themselves, heightens the tension.

299 nil . . . actum cf. *Aen.* 11.227f. *nihil omnibus actum/ tantorum impensis operum. nihil actum* in the sense of 'nothing achieved' is not frequent (TLL 1.1381.42ff.), but cf. *Aen. l.c.*, Prop. 1.10.20 *non nihil egit amor,* Liv. 9.1.3 *ne nihil actum, inquit, hac legatione censeatis,* Ov. *Met.* 6.685 *ast ubi blanditiis agitur nihil,* Luc. 2.657 *(Caesar) nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum,* Stat. *Theb.* 1.222 *nil actum, neque. . . .*

Symplegados singular, for the Cyanean rocks, as in Sen. *Her.F.* 1211 *illa quae pontum Scythen Symplegas artat.*

300 cuncta cf. 228 n.

magni . . . regis may have suggested to the reader the ancient Persian king (Herodot. 1.188.1, 1.192.1, 5.49.7, Aus. *Mos.* 290 *regis opus magni*), the dynastic feuds, and the dazzling empire of the East. On the other hand in *Orac.Sibyll.* 4.119, a contemporary Jewish author writing shortly after the eruption of Vesuvius of AD 79, calls the Emperor Titus βασιλεὺς μέγας.

dum *dum . . . veniant* is dependent on the contents of the men's *metus*: *nil (sc.esse) actum, cuncta (sc. esse) ambigua et pendentia summa dubia.*

301 ambigua cf. *Aen.* 8.580 *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuris.*

dubia rerum pendentia summa *pendentia* can be considered as a sort of synonym to *ambigua*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.12 *pendebat adhuc belli fortuna,* further Luc. 9.19, Sil. 9.356, Sen. *Oed.* 910 (TLL 10.1.1038.27ff.). The ablative can be taken as absolute ('undetermined now that the general situation is in a state of poise'). This would be more pregnant than the alternative, to consider *pendentia* as short for *dependentia* with an ablative complement. – For *summa rerum* cf. Liv. 10.14.9 *quia discrimen summae rerum angebat animos,* Luc. 5.26 *rerum nos summa sequetur* (Lentulus speaking in the senate).

302 praecipue cf., in the same metrical position, *Aen.* 6.175f. *ergo omnes . . . fremebant,/ praecipue pius Aeneas.*

incerta cf. from TLL 7.1.883.78ff. Ov. *Met.* 9.630 *incertae tanta est discordia mentis,* Sen. *Med.* 939 *anceps aestus incertam rapit, Dial.*

9.2.10 *mille fluctus mentis incertae*, Luc. 8.166 *proiecit (Pompeius) fessos incerti pectoris aestus.*

aestus as a metaphor for 'emotions'; cf. VF 3.365 *aegra . . . mens carpitur aestu*, 3.572 *varios hinc excitat aestus*, 7.241f. *eripe curis,/ unde metus aestusque mihi*, *Aen.* 8.19 *magno curarum fluctuat aestu*, 12.486 *vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu*, Luc. 8.166 and Sen. *Med.* 939 (both above), Stat. *Theb.* 12.686 *stetit ambiguo Thebanus in aestu curarum.*

303 rapit cf. 41 n., and Sen. *Med.* 939 (above).

undantem continuing the metaphor of seething waters. Various expressions are used where emotions make the mind *fluctuare curis*; cf. Catul. 64.62 *et magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, and *Aen.* 8.19, 12.486, both quoted in 302 n., further Sil. 8.287f. *signataque mente cicatrix/ undantes aegro frenabat corde dolores*, 11.548 *nigroque undantia pectora felle.*

undantem . . . novantem the verse is what was called in the middle ages a *versus leoninus*, with internal rhyme (Langen *ad* 1.39); other examples with participial forms ending in *-em* are 1.78, 3.552. In 5.594/595 also such forms follow each other closely.

multa novantem 'devising plan upon plan' (Mozley); a bold use, for which there is no close parallel. For the verb cf. 156 n. *novantem* comes from **L**, **V** has *navantem*. *novare* is applied to inner feelings in Stat. *Theb.* 7. 116f. (with Smolenaars) *tunc acre novabat ingenium*, 'a new and cunning trick was he then devising' (Mozley).

*

304. qualiter ex alta cum Iuppiter arce coruscat
305. Pliadas ille movens mixtumque sonoribus imbrem
306. horriferamve nivem, canis ubi tollitur omnis
307. campus aquis, aut sanguinei magna ostia belli
308. aut alios duris fatorum gentibus ortus,
309. sic tum diversis hinc atque hinc motibus anceps
310. pectora dux crebro gemitu quatit, optat et almum
311. iam iubar et certi tandem discriminis horas.

304–308 the simile is derived from Hom. *Il.* 10.5–10, where Agamemnon's worries during the night are compared with storm and hail:

5. ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀστράπτῃ πόσις Ἥρης ἠυκόμοιο,
6. τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον, ἀθέσφατον, ἠὲ χάλαζαν,
7. ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,

8. ἠέ ποθι πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδανοῖο,
9. ὣς πυκίν' ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀνεστενάχιζ' Ἀγαμέμνων
10. νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης, τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἐντός.

Just as Jupiter flashes his lightnings frequently, even so (frequently) the leader heaves his breast in groans. The lightnings are extended into a flow of rain, hail, snow, simply to give more colour to the thunderstorm; possibly the shudderings induced by the cold may play a rôle. The overall interpretation of the sequence *-que*, *-ve*, *aut*, *aut*, may be 'moving the Pleiads (that is, rain or snow), or the mouth of War, or *fatorum ortus*'. In that way *aut*... *aut* denote the alternatives, *-que* is explicative, and *-ve* is used for a subordinated alternative. – A key word is *campus* (307, with footnote).[38]

Hainsworth *ad Il.10* quotes much criticism, and calls Homer's simile 'overstretched'. Somehow it must have appealed to VF's silver Latin taste, because it is the only one he has translated literally.

304 ex alta . . . arce cf. 163 n.

coruscat 'flashes': cf. Pac. *Trag.* Ribb. 413 = Warm. 357 *flamma inter nubes coruscat*; in a pointed way referring to lightning, rendering ἀστράπτῃ (5), by saying that Jupiter 'gleams'. For the intransitive use cf. Verg. *G.* 4.73 *pennisque coruscant* (the bees). *coruscus* is used of lightning in 6.55, 7.567.

305 Pliadas for the Pleiads, the rainbringers, cf. 46 n.

ille In its position *following* Jupiter and before *movens*, *ille*, formally just repeating once more the subject, gives the colour of anaphoric ὁ γε in Homer (although these wordlets just are not present in the lines from the *Iliad* quoted above). TLL 7.1.353.24ff. lists several cases of appositioned *ille* from poetry; cf. Austin *ad Aen.* 1.3.

movens 'bringing about'; with regard to the words *Pliadas* . . . *movens* . . . *que* . . . *imbrem* (. . . *ve nivem)*, the stars make revolutions, and are *moved*. The appearance of the Pleiads coincides with rains and can be considered their cause. The rain and snow is *brought about*, and in this sense *movens* corresponds to τεύχων (6); cf. 2.357f. *Pliada lege poli nimboso moverat astro/ Iuppiter*. Examples of *movere* for various types of weather are Ov. *Met.* 2.308 *movet tonitrus*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.385f.

[38] R. Preiswerk, 'Zeitgeschichtliches bei Valerius Flaccus', *Philol.* 89 (1934) 433–442, thinks the scene is referring to the actuality of AD 69, the inundation by the river Tiber as described in Tac. *Hist.* 1.86. I do not think the author to be that much interested in writing in a way relevant to what happened in his time; any torrent might cause inundations in those days.

plura locuturi subito seducimur imbre:/ pendula caelestes Libra movebat aquas.

sonoribus 'sounds', not frequent; cf., *e.g.*, Lucr. 5.334, 6.1185 *plenae sonoribus aures* (same position in the hexameter), *Aen.* 7.462.

306 horriferamve the word is in use since Pac. *Trag.* Ribb. 82 = Warm. 103, Acc. Ribb. 566/567 = Warm. 571/572 *sub axe posita ad stellas septem, unde horrifer/ Aquiloni' stridor gelidas molitur nives*; cf. *Aen.* 8.435, Ov. *Met.* 15.471 *horriferum contra Borean*, Sen. *Phaed.* 934 *horrida celsa regna transieris poli*, VF 5.517 *horrifero . . . in axe* (indicating cold). Used until Avien. *Arat.* 96 *horriferis Aquilonibus illa rigescunt* (TLL 6.3.2995.57ff.). – For *-ve* see 305–308 n.

canis . . . (aquis) VF has succeeded again in presenting a maze. Is *canae aquae* 'foam-capped waters' (as in VF 3.32 *canebant aequora*), or is it 'white (melting) hail' (think of χάλαζα, and of *campus* representing ἀρούρα, 307 n.). From the fact that in the alternatives of Homer it is χιών which is sprinkled on the fields one may think of χιών as standing not only for 'snow', but also for 'snow-water'; cf. Eurip. *Andromach.* 2.15 ἀμφὶ Θρῄκην χίονι τὴν κατάρρυτον. Langen appears to think that the *aquae* refer to the sea, Burman to snow, Preiswerk (304–308 n.) to the Tiber's waters foaming. Parallels for 'white-foamed' referring to water or sea are many in number since Enn. *Ann.* V478 = S505 *per aequora cana*, and are listed in Langen (in addition Ov. *Met.* 1.266 *canis fluit unda capillis*). However, the epithet is also regularly used of snow, hail, rime; cf. Lucr. 3.20f. *neque nix acri concreta pruina/ cana*, followed by Verg. *G.* 2.376, Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.4 *nec prata canis albicant pruinis*, Sen. *Her.F.* 139 *cana pabula pruina*, *Phaed.* 935 *supra . . . canas nives*, Sil. 3.479 *cana . . . grandine.*

tollitur should be interpreted as 'is raised', that is, by the melting snow or hail.

307 campus *campus* is best explained as just 'field', rendering ἀρούρας (7).[39]

magna ostia belli representing πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα (*Il.* 10.8). B. Hainsworth (in G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: a commentary*, vol. III) *ad*

[39] Langen's interpretation of *aquae* as 'sea' is in itself supported by (TLL 3.220.64ff.) the following pre-Christian examples of *campus* for 'sea': Plaut. *Trin.* 834 *coeruleos per campos*, Lucr. 5.488 = 6.405 = 6.1142 *camposque natantis*, Verg. *G.* 3.198 *campique natantes*, *Aen.* 10.214 *campos salis*, 6.724 *camposque liquentis*, Ov. *Met.* 1.41 *campo liberioris aquae*, 11.356 *campos . . . aquarum*, Sil. 14.368 *umentem campum*, 14.253 *caeruleis. . . . campis pascentia cete.* To these can be added Ov. *Met.* 1.315 *pars maris et latus subitarum campus aquarum.* – For a *river* inundating the fields cf. Lucr. 6.267 *flumina abundare ut facerent camposque natare.*

loc. comments: 'War had jaws for the same reason that Death has jaws in English poetry: it devours'. τεύχων μέγα στόμα is about as recherché as *movens ostia.* Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.146 . . . *pater et saevi movet ostia belli* (H. Köstlin, *Philol.* 50 (1891) 335).

308 The verse has been considered spurious by Courtney (ed. p. XXXIX: *qui neque intellegi possit neque tolerabiliter emendatus sit*) in the wake of Schenkl 289. (The latter thinks the verse is original, but not belonging here.) I believe that the peculiar wording (whatever conjecture is accepted) does not seem to argue against Valerian authorship. The Mss. give *aut altos duris fatorum gentibus ortus.* Ehlers prints *alios,* adding '*sed versus nondum intelligitur*', yet abstains from obelizing. Printing *alios, atros, diris* makes no essential difference; the real crux is *ortus* (see below). The content seems to have no counterpart in Homer whatsoever, yet, in view of the alternatives as given in 304–308 n., without the verse Jupiter would do only three things, which would contrast with the Homeric situation, ἤ, ἠέ, ἤ, ἠέ, even though the latter concludes with the 'gape of war'.

duris . . . gentibus the *iunctura* is a classical one, *e.g. Aen.* 5.730 *gens dura atque aspera cultu,* 11.48 *cum dura proelia gente.* Compare also *durum genus* Verg. *G.* 1.63, *Aen.* 9.603. Yet the interpretation of present *durus* is difficult. Are these men strong enough to bear hardships (as mankind became by being tried by Jupiter as in Verg. *G.* 1.121–124) or do they resist in a strenuous way Jupiter's fata (as they seem to do in the speech of Zeus in *Od.* 1.32ff.)? For 'robust' cf. 6.462 *durus . . . Tirynthius;* for 'hardened' cf. 3.648 *semperque inversa tueri/ durus,* 3.181 *desere nunc nemus . . . durus.* In other cases in VF *durus* can be rendered as 'pitiless' (4.383, 1.718, 3.655, 4.130, 8.460).

ortus *ortus* is normally used of the rising sun or stars. In a few cases a wider use is found (TLL 9.2.1068.42ff.); cf. Cic. *Rep.* 2.49 *habetis igitur primum ortum tyranni; nam hoc nomen Graeci regis iniusti esse voluerunt,* Tac. *Agr.* 3.1.1 *primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatum.* Even so *fatorum ortus,* 'initiation of a fatal development', would be extremely bold.

309ff. These verses correspond to Hom. *Il.* 10.9/10 as quoted above. 309 itself is of Duckworth's *ssss* metrical type (see 10 n.), possibly depicting the slow process of seeing no way out and preparing a speech simply summarizing the facts.

hinc atque hinc fairly frequent in the *Aeneid* in the literal sense 'from overthere as well as from here'; but similarly referring to

emotions in *Aen.* 4.447f. *haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros/ tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas.*

motibus Heinsius for *molibus* Mss.; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.420ff. *pectora motus/ nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat/ concipiunt. motibus* may be supported as repeating *movens* (305).

anceps not previously in combination with *motibus* (TLL 2.24.60ff.), but there are several examples of *anceps . . . cura*; *e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* 2.40.1 *cum Tiberium anceps cura distrahere*, Liv. 34.12.1 *consulem nocte, quae insecuta est, anceps cura agitare.* Compare further Luc. 9.581f. *semperque futuris/ casibus ancipites.*

310 pectora dux crebro gemitu quatit corresponding to, in that order, ἐν στήθεσσιν, Ἀγαμέμνων, πυκίν’, ἀνεστενάχιζ’ (*Il.* 10.9).

almum applied to 'light' or 'morning'; cf. (TLL 1.1704.41ff.) with *lux Aen. e.g.* 1.306 *ut primum lux alma data est*, Ov. *Met.* 15.664, Man. 5.142. With *dies* Verg. *Ecl.* 8.17, *Aen.* 5.64f., Ov. *Met.* 5.444, *Ciris* 349.

311 iubar for 'morning glow' as in Luc. 7.45 *vicerat astra iubar*, Ov. *Fast.* 5.547 *quid solito citius liquido iubar aequore tollit/ candida, Lucifero praeveniente, dies.* – On the frequency of *iubar* I quote Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.45: '*Iubar*, rarely used in classical Latin, becomes markedly commoner from Ovid onwards; Statius uses the noun fourteen times'. VF uses it 7 times.

certi . . . discriminis horas the phrase may combine the connotation of 'decisive stage' (as in Luc. 6.415 *summique gravem discriminis horam*, Liv. 29.17.6 *in discrimine est nunc humanum omne genus, utrum vos an Carthaginienses principes orbis terrarum videat*, Vell. 2.85.1 *advenit deinde maximi discriminis dies*), with that of 'ability to distinguish visually'. For the latter there are no clear parallels in TLL 5.1.1356.67ff. However, Non. 282 Merc., 20 *discrimen: rursum separatio, a discernendo* (supported by Walde/Hofmann *s.v.*), derives *discrimen* from *discernere*, OLD 2 'to distinguish with the senses' (cf. R. Maltby, *A lexicon of ancient Latin etymologies*, Leeds, 1991, *s.v.).* For *discernere* the required sense is found in, *e.g.*, *Aen.* 3.201 *ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo (Palinurus).*

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312. tunc defixa solo coetuque intenta silenti
313. versus ad ora virum 'quod primum ingentibus ausis
314. optavistis' ait 'veterumque quod horruit aetas,
315. adsumus en tantumque fretis enavimus orbem.

312 defixa solo (ora) cf. *Aen.* 7.249ff. *talibus . . . dictis defixa Latinus/ obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret,/ intentos volvens oculos,* 6.156, 8.520 *defixique ora tenebant,* 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,* Tac. *Ann.* 3.1.6 *(Agrippina) defixit oculos,* Luc. 6.658, Sil. 17.213 quoted below.

coetuque . . . silenti cf. *Aen.* 5.43f. *socios in coetum . . . / advocat Aeneas.* For *silenti* cf. ARh 3.170 ἠρέμας in the introduction to the speech of Jason ARh 3.171–193, a counterpart to the present speech 313–324.

intenta (ora) cf. *Aen.* 7.251 quoted above, 2.1 *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant,* Sil. 17.213f. *ductor (Hannibal) defixos Itala tellure tenebat/ intentus vultus.*

313 quod Kleywegt 1986b:2487 compares the source *Aen.* 10.279 *quod votis optastis adest, perfringere dextra,* where the infinitive is apposition to *quod.* In the present lines *quod* refers to the whole *adsumus . . .* clause.

primum 'as the thing most important'. Heinsius (*primi*), Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen (*pridem*), rejected *primum*; however, cf. Cic. *Ver.* 50 *quapropter primum ab dis immortalibus, . . ., hoc idem, iudices, opto, ut . . .,* Liv. 29.23.9 *se . . . foedere . . . iunctum optare primum ut procul ab Africa . . . bellum Romani cum Carthaginiensibus gerant.*

ingentibus ausis dative complement to *optare.* One of 9 (all) cases of *ausis* ending the verse in VF; cf. once *ausae* and 5 times *ausi* in the same final position.

314 veterumque . . . aetas *aetas* 'period', or 'generation', as in 6.115 *eum Scythiae iam tertia viderat aetas,* Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.4 *tua, Caesar, aetas,* 3.6.46ff. *aetas parentum peior avis tulit/ nos nequiores,* Liv. *pr.* 5 *quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas,* Gell. 18.5.8 *veterum aetas* (TLL 1.1137.36). Compare further VF 1.40 *hanc . . . militiam, veterum quae pulchrior actis.*

en 18 instances in VF, 21 in the *Thebaid,* considerably more than in Vergil (8). In VF 16 cases occur in direct speech (7 in Vergil). The two additional cases have a subjective colouring as well; they are 3.178 in a phrase connecting two apostrophes, taking the point of view of the parent, as well as, possibly, of the nymphs; and in 2.395 in a rhetorical question from the point of view of the woman described. Similarly in Vergil the exceptional case not in direct speech, *G.* 3.42, occurs in apostrophe. For words typical of direct speech cf. 36 *carus,* 324 *potius.*

enavimus used transitively; TLL has only two other similar instances, Sil. 3.662 and 15.375. Langen had also given Sid. *Ep.*

22.167. Merone gives a list of verbs not used transitively before the Silver poets: *intervolare, praefulgurare, superfugere, transabire, adstare*; Kleywegt 1986b:2455 adds *'infit', reclamare.*

315 adsumus cf. *Aen.* 5.57 *adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.*

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316. nec pelagi nos mille viae nec fama fefellit
317. Soligenam Aeeten media regnare sub Arcto.
318. ergo ubi lux altum spargit mare, tecta petenda
319. urbis et ignoti mens experienda tyranni.

316 nec pelagi . . . viae nec fama fefellit *Aeeten regnare sub Arcto* (317) is the content of the *fama* in indirect speech. Shelton 287 prefers to render *nec fama fefellit* as 'legend has been proven to be a fact'. But the zeugma of *pelagi M viae* coordinated with Shelton's interpretation may seem unacceptably strained. Now to the first seafarers the idea that the sea could be unlimited is novel. Therefore I propose as an interpretation (more or less with Mozley) *nec M viae fefellerunt, nec fama Aeeten regnare . . . fefellit*, 'nor did the 1000 ways across the sea lead us astray, nor has the rumour appeared false that . . .'. With the words *nec fama fefellit* cf. *Aen.* 6.691 *nec me mea cura fefellit*; for *viae* cf. *Aen.* 9.243 *nec nos via fallet euntis* or 7.215 *nec sidus regione* ('line', 'direction') *viae litusve fefellit.* The latter line is spoken by Ilioneus after Aeneas's arrival in Latium, a situation very similar to the present one. – For the accusative and infinitive after *fama* cf. *Aen.* 3.121f. *fama volat pulsum regnis cessisse paternis/ Idomenea ducem.*

mille viae cf. *Aen.* 5.590f. *(fertur Labyrinthus) ancipitemque/ mille viis habuisse dolum*, 12.753 *mille fugit refugitque vias*, Tib. 1.3.50 *nunc leti mille repente viae.* The *pelagi viae* correspond to Homeric ὑγρὰ κέλευθα, κέλευθα ἰχθυόεντα, referring to the routes crossing the sea; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.195 πόντου κελεύθους. Interesting is the derivation of Greek πόντος from an Indo-European root cognate with πάτος 'path', explaining *pontus* as 'Meerespfad' (Pokorny 809).

fama fefellit for a list of examples of alliteration cf. 217, with in the present case additional internal alliteration. In all 8 instances in Vergil *fefellit* has the same final position in the hexameter as in the present line; in the one additional case in VF (6.366) as well.

Soligena cf. 223 n.

318 ubi lux . . . spargit mare cf. 3.257 *spargere lumine portus*, and

Aen. 4.584 = 9.459 *et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras/. . . Aurora,* itself after Lucr. 2.144 *primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras,* with an original model in Hom. *Il.* 8.1, 24.695 ἠὼς . . . ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν. The future *sparget* is a Renaissance correction for the present tense *spargit* Mss. in view of the gerundives *petenda, experienda.* In VF *ubi* with future occurs twice, 5.683 and 3.411 (a case of future II). Of the ten editors since Thilo, 1863, only Thilo and Giarratano have kept the Mss.' reading. In the present situation both *spargit* and *sparget* are grammatically possible (K/S I.144ff.). Parallels are scarce: Luc. 2.41f. *cum vicerit alter,/ gaudendum est.*

tyranni see 258 n., as well as Cic. *Rep.* 2.49 quoted in 308 n. (*ortus*). The word points forward to *superbus* (321).

tecta petenda (sc. sunt) *petenda* predicative, hence the unusual combination of a substantive followed by an adjective both ending in short *-a,* which when not predicative occurs twice only in VF, not in book 5 (S.J. Harrison, *Discordia taetra*: the history of a hexameter ending, *Cl.Q.* 41 (1991) 138–149).

319 mens for *mens* as 'attitude' cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3.4.27 *regum vultus, certissima pignora mentis.*

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320. adnuet ipse, reor, neque inexorabile certe
321. quod petimus. sin aure preces et dicta superbus
322. respuerit, iam nunc animos firmate repulsae
323. quaque via patriis referamus vellera terris
324. stet potius. rebus semper pudor absit in artis'.

320 inexorabilis normally meaning 'relentless'; in the required sense of 'what should not, or cannot be asked for' an appropriate word, yet bold in view of the lack of parallels (TLL 7.1.1322.58 adduces only Ps.Orig. *tract.* 16. p. 174, 1); cf. 1.782f. *exorabile . . ./. . . carmen,* in the sense of 'effectively praying', 'able to win over'. *in-* is a conjecture of the Ed. Princ. and cannot be missed.

321 aure a conjecture of Samuelsson 1899:122, for *vero* Mss., even if *sin* can be strenghthened by *vero* in silver Latin and later. *vero* would be the only case of corrected *-o* in VF (Kösters 86), everywhere else *vero* has a long *-o.* In addition the combination *sin vero* is a late prosaic development (from Plin. *Nat.* onwards). This makes the verse highly suspect since to the sense *vero* does not make not much contribution of its own. Therefore I prefer *aure*; after loss of *a-*, *vre* could

have been easily corrected into *vero*. This would result in: 'But if in his proudness he will reject from his ear our entreaties . . .'. For *aure respuere* cf. parallels quoted below.

322 (preces et dicta) respuerit cf. Liv. 42.14.2 *omnis et defensio et deprecatio legatorum respuebatur*. With *aures*: Cic. *Pis*. 45 *nemo . . . qui vos non . . . auribus respuat*, *Sul*. 70 *cuius aures umquam haec respuerunt*, Tac. *Dial*. 9.2 *licet haec . . . aures tuae, Materne, respuant*.

firmate cf. 358 n.

repulsae cf. Ov. *Met*. 3.289 *nullam patiere repulsam!*, Stat. *Theb*. 12.484 *(Clementia) nulla damnavit vota repulsa*, Sil. 11.63, 11.112. The case should be considered a dative, although *firmare* 'make firm against' is (TLL 6.1.809ff.) normally construed with *adversus*, *contra*, *in* (as in 215). Examples with a dative of advantage in Tac. (*Ann*. 1.71.3, 3.60.1, *Hist*. 5.4.1) are different.

323 quaque via referamus vellera . . . / stet potius 'let us rather take a decision how we can bring the Fleece'. Because there seemed to be every reason to suspect the transmitted text, Langen, supported by Leo 232, postulated a lacuna after *vellera*. The point is, what is *qua via* dependent on? There might be a zeugma involved as follows: *firmate animos*: 1) *repulsae*; 2) *qua via referamus vellera terris*. After a semi-colon the sententia in 324 then fills the whole line out. The alternative is *stet potius qua via referamus vellera*, which makes sense as long as *qua via* is interpretated as 'how' (literally 'along which way' cannot be a real problem to worry about, since they'll have to return across the sea anyhow). This would eliminate the need to postulate a lacuna. – For *stare* followed by a dependent question I only find as a parallel the elliptic Cic. *Att*. 3.14.2 = Sh.B. 58.2 *nos in Asiam convertemus; neque adhuc stabat quo potissimum, sed scies*.

via 'method'; but with overtones of the *pelagi viae* (316).

patriis referamus vellera terris to bring back the Fleece 'to *my father's* country, where it *belongs*', as is Shelton's interpretation; cf. 5.510 *ea . . . / (vellera) crede . . . Phrixum ad patrios ferre penates*. – For *patrius* see 134 n.

324 stet cf. 5.288 *stet pectore fixum*.

potius the word is typical of direct speech (all 8 cases in the *Aeneid*, nearly all 13 in VF), because it occurs in wishes and jussive clauses. (The one exception, 7.318, is in a description of feelings in an indirect soliloquy). For words typical of direct speech cf. 36 *carus*,

315 *en.* Carrio has *procul,* but not explicitly from his codex, so he could have taken the word from older printed editions; emendation to *procul* does not seem to be necessary, the more so since Carrio made the change back to *stet potius* in the second edition of 1566.

rebus semper pudor absit in artis cf. (TLL 1.723.28) Ov. *Pont.* 3.2.5 *qui rebus in artis/ ferre mihi nullam turpe putastis opem,* also Sil 5.477, 14.425, Stat. *Theb.* 10.590, 11.156. – In view of the similarity of the situation in 313–324 and in *Aen.* 1.198–207, the leader addressing his men to give them hope in their distress, it is attractive to think that line 324 has much in common with *Aen.* 1.207 *durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* When Langen poses the question why, if the text were complete, the word *pudor* (324) should have been used, he is not sufficiently indulgent to many a poetic aberration in VF.

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325. dixerat et Scythicam qui se comitentur ad urbem
326. sorte petit numeroque novem ducuntur ab omni.
327. inde viam, qua Circaei plaga proxima campi,
328. corripiunt regemque petunt iam luce reducta.

325 Scythicam qui se comitentur Ceccarelli (1986) draws attention to alliteration with variable inserted vowel: *Scythi**cam** . . . **com**itentur,* as is fairly frequent in Vergil. Examples in *Argonautica 5* are: 14 *cursus . . . carinae,* 19 *cura . . . cardine,* 21 *dabant . . . debita,* 22/23 *praecipiti . . . p . . ./ . . . p . . . precantur,* 36 *corpora cara,* 132 *corde/. . . currus,* 194 *per . . . pares,* 259 *monstrisque minacibus . . ./ . . . monens,* 264 *corde . . . cura,* 309/310 ***motibus** . . ./ . . . ge-**mit**-u,* 325 *-cam . . . com-,* 407/408 *limina . . ./ . . . luminis,* 416 *fert . . . fores,* 437 *dux . . . dextra,* 439 *cernitur . . . carmine,* 446/447 *paelice . . ./ pallam,* 489 *perpetimur . . . parere,* 511 *victum . . . vecta,* 611 *corpora curru.* In Vergil the phenomenon is about twice as frequent as in VF, to judge by book 5 alone.

The case is only slightly different from cases with 'zero' vowel, like *supr-/ super,* etc. (not discussed by Ceccarelli, probably in view of the numerous cases in Vergil with the variable vowel): 22 *praecipiti . . . parentem,* 23 *parva . . . precantur,* 25/26 *supremo . . ./ . . . superesse,* 242 *tradere terga,* 244 *toris . . . tremens,* 383 *prole parens,* 516 *sociare . . . sciat,* 520 *premit . . . opertis,* 548 *acribus . . . curis,* 585 *cerna cruores.*

326 novem together with Jason, a group of ten is formed; cf. D. Najock, *Kl. Pauly,* 5:1447ff., *sub* 'Zahlenmystik': "die δέκας galt als letzte eigentliche Zahl" (in the opinion of the Pythagoreans). Anyhow

nine is the perfect number for alliteration with *numerus*. In ARh, Jason takes six companions: the sons of Phrixus, Telamon, Augias (3.178f., 196f.).

ducuntur the verb is used in the same way as *eligere* in *Aen.* 7.274 *haec effatus equos numero pater eligit omni.* For *sorte ducere* cf. *Aen.* 2.201 *Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos*, 6.22 *stat ductis sortibus urna*, Juv. 13.9f. *casus . . . hic . . . / . . . e media fortunae ductus acervo.*

327 Circaei . . . campi cf. ARh 3.200, 2.400; the Scholiast ad 2.400 has καὶ Τίμαιος δέ φησι πεδίον ἐν Κόλχοις εἶναι Κίρκαιον (= *F.Gr.H.* Jacoby III.B.a 566 F 84).

328 corripiunt cf. *Aen.* 1.418 *corripuere viam interea.*

luce reducta cf. *Aen.* 1.143 *solemque reducit* (Neptunus), 11.914 *noctemque die labante reducat* (Phoebus), Stat. *Theb.* 11.6 *Iuppiter et vultu caelumque diemque reducit*; possibly ultimately derived from ARh 3.828 Ἠ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ πρῶτα φαεινομένην ἴδεν ἠῶ (the morning of the meeting of Iason and Medea). Compare further Sil. 8.632 *subducta luce* for darkness setting in.

E. *Medea in Aia, 329–454*

From the point of view of romance, the meeting of Medea and Jason is the central point of interest of the work, occupying the central position in a poem, that, in its (potential) complete state, I believe could have filled nine books (double the number of ARh's 3 + 1½). I support Ehlers's argument (ed. p. V, together with the discovery of Δ in 1991:29) for supposing that VF has completed the work. The number of books has variously been estimated as as 12, 10, 8 (compare the review in Adamietz 107–113).

After the eventful night, the Medea scene starts in early morning; the transition to the Aeetes scene is fairly gradual. One *famula* is the guide, leading the reader (as well as, literally, Jason) from 'Medea' to 'the palace', which is amply described, pending the appearance of the king.

ARh 3.947–1145 is the background, cf. the notes *ad* 369 (Jason/ Sirius). However, the setting is different. In ARh the meeting is a deliberate *rendez-vous*; Jason has met Aeetes already, and Medea gives him a φάρμακον. Finally Jason comes with a promise of marriage. VF leans heavily upon the Nausicaa scene in Homer *Od.* 5 (cf. n. *ad* 378–390).

e1.	329–362	(34)	Medea goes out.	} 70
e2.	363–398	(36)	Medea and Jason: the meeting	
e3.	399–454	(57)	the palace	

e1. *329–362. Medea goes out*

Medea has seen a dream of frightening portents and decides to wash in a river's pure water, accompanied by her maidens. She notices Jason's band coming, and her nurse identifies them as Greeks. There is harmony in the balance between the 34 line section on Medea (e1) and the 36 line section on the meeting (e2).

Compare Lüthje 213–214, Adamietz 72–73, Shey 145–147, Shelton 288–293, Wetzel 56–70.

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329. Forte deum variis per noctem territa monstris
330. senserat ut pulsas tandem Medea tenebras
331. rapta toris primi iubar ad placabile Phoebi
332. ibat et horrendas lustrantia flumina noctes.

329 With regard to the scene, instances of washing after portentous dreams are Aesch. *Pers.* 201f. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην καὶ χεροῖν καλλιρρόου/ ἔψαυσα πηγῆς (after the queen's dream), *Aen.* 8.67ff. *nox Aenean somnusque reliquit/ surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis/ lumina rite caris undam de flumine palmis/ sustinet* (after the Tiber appeared in a dream), *Aen.* 9.22, Prop. 3.10.13 *at primum pura somnum tibi discute lympha,* Ov. *Met.* 9.702f. *purasque . . ./. . . manus tollens* (after a dream), Pers. 2.15f., Stat. *Theb.* 9.570ff. as quoted in 332 n.

forte Wetzel emphasizes that here the meeting is spontaneous, while in ARh brought about by manipulation of the goddesses, who let Medea be stricken by Eros. In fact, however, while in VF there is more room for individuality, the dreams, the *monstra deum,* are an example of divine manipulation of decisions free in appearance only.

noctem still the same night as in 278, 298.

deum . . . monstris cf. *Aen.* 3.59 *monstra deum refero,* Stat. *Theb.* 11.143 *sunt monstra deum.* Other nocturnal *monstra* occurred in 259. Medea's dreams are horrible, just as they are in ARh 3.751 ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος ff. (in a much later phase of the story). Wetzel 58 thinks that VF has Circe's dream in ARh 4.662/664 in mind, ἔνθα δὲ Κίρκην/ εὗρον ἁλὸς νοτίδεσσι κάρη ἐπιφαιδρύνουσαν·/ τοῖον γὰρ νυχίοισιν ὀνείρασιν ἐπτοίητο.

330 senserat ut temporal *ut* with pluperfect, as well as with perfect, had disappeared from prose in the classical period, eked out a living in poetry, reappeared as a late development (Sz. 636).

pulsas tenebras Catul. 63.41 *pepulit Sol noctis umbras,* Ov. *Fast.* 6.472 *cum pulso nox erit orta die,* Luc. 2.326 *Phoebo gelidas pellente tenebras.* For *pellere* cf. 347 n. It is as if Medea does her best to speed up the disappearance of the night violently. – For the scansion of *tenebrae* (also in 638) cf. Stadler *ad* 7.403.

331 rapta cf. 41 n. Cases of reflexively used passive are listed by Langen *ad* 3.594.

iubar the same morning glow as in 311. For relating the horror of a nightmare to the dawn (apparently to get rid of it) cf. Eurip. *Iphig.Taur.* 42f. ἃ καινὰ δ' ἥκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα/ λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴ τι δὴ τόδ' ἔστ' ἄκος, Soph. *Electr.* 86ff. ὦ φάος ἁγνόν . . ., 424f. ἡνίχ' Ἡλίῳ/ δείκνυσι (Clytaemnestra) τοὔναρ, ἔκλυον. Aeneas, too, purifies himself in the fresh light in *Aen.* 8.67: *nox Aenean somnusque reliquit,* etc. (see *ad* 329).

placabile *placabilis* can have a passive or an active sense, 'capable of being propitiated', or 'instrumental in offering propitiations'. OLD2 classifies the present locus onder 'offering propitiations'. Elsewhere in VF the word is used in the passive sense, 1.324, 4.472.

332 ibat ad iubar Phoebi et flumina seems a zeugma, but in view of 331 n. *iubar.* Medea goes to both, for the same purpose of purification.

lustrantia cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.570ff. *somnum turbata figuris/. . . mater. . ./ ante diem gelidas ibat Ladonis ad undas/ purgatura malum fluvio vivente soporem,* 9.602 *ergo ut in amne nefas* (in the dream) *merso ter crine piavit.*

noctes (horrendas) 'night' for 'dream', the concrete for the abstract.

*

333. namque soporatos tacitis in sedibus artus
334. dum premit alta quies nullaeque in virgine curae,
335. visa pavens castis Hecates excedere lucis,
336. dumque pii petit ora patris, stetit arduus inter
337. pontus et ingenti circum stupefacta profundo
338. fratre tamen conante sequi.

The dream 333/340 comprises various scenes. She sees herself coming from the sanctuary, seeking her father – but she cannot reach him; the barrier of the sea is between them. Far away overseas as she is, her brother follows her. Then she sees children threatened with death and herself trembling at shedding blood and crying. The dream is psychologically realistic, offering images only, with no speech recorded. There is dramatic irony involved, since Medea cannot be supposed to share the interpretation of the reader who knows the version of Euripides, in which she herself is the murderess of her children. (When Cassandra is prophesying in Sen. *Ag.* 720–758, she is speaking in similarly hazy images; she sees a 'lion suffering the bloody bites of his bold lioness' (F.J. Miller), and the audience has to think of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra.) Rightly Adamietz 73 notes that Medea in her dream did *not* see her love for Jason, only the gloom, "das Unheil steht bereits fest".

333/334 The quiet sleep in these lines and the words *tacitis, quies, nullae curae,* serve to heighten the contrast with the highly troubled dream presently coming.

333 soporatos 'sent to sleep'; perhaps an allusion to the goddesses' influence (cf. *deum monstris* 329) in sending the dream.

sedibus 'her home'; Mozley, poetically: 'her bower'.

334 premit alta quies for *quies*, OLD 1 gives 'sleep'; for *premere* cf. Prop. 1.10.7 *quamvis labentes premeret mihi somnus ocellos*, Liv. 22.50.4 *dum proelio . . . fatigos quies nocturna hostes premeret* (OLD 18). For *alta quies* cf. 4.16, *Aen.* 6.521f. *pressitque iacentem/ dulcis et alta quies*, Ov. *Met.* 7.186, Sil. 13.56 (TLL 1.1780.9ff.).

virgine curae there is alliteration of *v/c* in lines 334/335. The word *virgo* is likely to refer to 240, where Phrixus is warning *maneat regnis ne virgo paternis*. Medea's position as a virgin is stressed by 335 *castis . . . lucis.*

curae In 303 it was Jason *undans curis.*

335 pavens cf. *paventes* 338; see 297 n.

castis Hecates excedere lucis cf. 6.495ff. *hanc residens altis Hecate Perseia lucis/ flebat et has imo referebat pectore voces:/ deseris heu nostrum nemus.* Possibly this is a case of enallage, with *casta* properly referring to Hecate (= Diana); cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.10 *casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo*, Hom. Od. 5.123 = 18.202 Ἄρτεμις ἁγνή. Already J.A. Wagner, however, explains the phrase as hinting at Medea's

renouncing of virginity. For Hecate cf. Bömer *ad Fast.* 1.141. *excedere* stands in the same position in the verse in 7.440 *nempe ego si patriis timuissem excedere tectis/....*

lucis cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.74f. *ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perseidos aras/ quas nemus umbrosam secretaque silva tegebat, Ep.* 12.67 (the same grove) *est nemus et piceis et frondibus ilicis atrum,* Tac. *Ger.* 40.3 *est in insula Oceani castum nemus* (sacred to Nerthus).

336 pii the same Aeetes was *falli meritus* in 223. Now he is described as seen through the eyes of the daughter, with due Roman respect (349 speaks of *Colchis... nondum miseros exosa parentes*). Later on in the story Medea will beseech Jason not to let her come under her father's eyes, 8.51ff. *modo nequis abactam/ huc referat me forte dies oculisque parentis/ ingerar.* In 4.13f. Jupiter threatens to punish Aeetes's *impia nata* (5.685): '*dabit impia poenas virgo nec Aeetae gemitus patiemur inultos*'. *impia* is applied to Medea in Ov. *Tr.* 3.9.9. *impia Medea,* Sen. *Ag.* 119f. *impia virgo/ Phasiaca fugiens regna, Culex* 249 *impietate fera vecordem Colchida matrem* (TLL 7.1.621.9ff.).

arduus (pontus) 'a high wall of seawater'; with *pontus* not elsewhere (TLL 2.494.42).[40]

inter Summers takes it as a tmesis like 3.418 *circum... volitabant*; rather, in combination with *circum* 337, both are used adverbially (Langen), as *inter* is also in 6.220, 8.303, 382.

337 circum adverb, as in several cases in *Argonautica* as well as *Aeneid*, but used attributively (cf. 578 n.) with *ingenti... profundo*: 'and she stood shocked by the enormous <extent of> sea on all sides'.

stupefacta (sc. est) *stupefacere* is a word used by the various poets, infrequent in prose (OLD); VF has it also in 5.620. In fact Bury, over-grammatical, conjectured *stupefacta est.*

profundo cf. VF 2.605 *pater ipse profundi,* frequent in prose since *Aen.* 12.263f. *profundo/ vela dabit* (OLD 1b).

fratre conante sequi Medea's brother Absyrtus pursues her (8.261ff.), as is also described in ARh 4.303ff. The story is not complete in VF as we have it now; in ARh 4.452ff. Medea contrives to

[40] 2.54 *decimae... tumor arduus undae* refers to one particular high wave (with Poortvliet *ad loc.*); something similar in Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 294f. *ardua quippe/ undarum moles Tyrrheno cogitur aestu/ curvatumque salum quatit amplo litora fluctu;/ ecce alias lento prorepit gurgite Nereus/ undaque vix tenuis siccas praetexit arenas* (around the Syrtae), based on Dion. Perieg. *Orb. Descr.* 201 ἔνθα, κορυσσομένης Τυρσηνίδος ἀμφιτρίτης, ..., where in fact *arduus* means high in contrast to shallows.

ambush him, and he is killed by Jason. No doubt all this is implied in the prophetic dream.

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338. mox stare paventes
339. viderat intenta pueros nece seque trementem
340. spargere caede manus et lumina rumpere fletu.
341. his turbata minis fluvios ripamque petebat
342. Phasidis aequali Scythidum comitante caterva.

338 paventes cf. 335 *pavens*, and 5 n.

mox (viderat) *mox* followed by a pluperfect not elsewhere (TLL 8.1548.10ff.). An event-to-be is recounted as seen in a past dream.

339 intenta . . . nece 'now death is threatening them'; cf. Liv. 21.6.7 *alii totam in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum* (OLD 7b).

pueros for the tragedy in Corinth cf. Eurip. *Med.* 1236ff., Sen. *Med.* 945ff., or, in one verse, Ov. *Met.* 7.396 *sanguine natorum perfunditur impius ensis.* Mopsus has prophesied the scene: VF 1.225f. *miser eripe parvos,/ Aesonide.*

trementem **V** has *trementum*, **L** and Carrio have *trementem.* Ehlers 1970:76 thinks both variants meaningful, but that *-tem* prepares the reader for the otherwise surprising *rumpere fletu*, an astute remark. I see no reason *a priori* to prefer **V**. Burman, followed by Thilo, proposed *trementes*, Bury an old conjecture – *tremendum!* –; most editors have printed **V**'s *trementum (caede).*

340 caede 'blood', as in *Aen.* 9.818 *abluta caede*, Catul. 64.368 *alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulchra*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.34f. *quod mare Dauniae/ non decolavere caedes?*, Ov. *Ars* 2.135f. *campus . . . quem caede Dolonis/ sparsimus.*

rumpere highly artificial for 'to burst into tears'. Similarly in several expressions (neatly summarized by Langen *ad* 1.508) *gemitus, questus*, etc., 'break out from the breast'.

341 fluvios ripamque Gebbing 79 compares for the hendiadys *Aen.* 6.298 *portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat.*

342 aequali . . . comitante caterva cf. *Aen.* 2.40, 2.370, 5.76 *magna (. . .) comitante caterva.* For *aequalis* cf. (TLL 1.994.21ff.) VF 6.497 *deseris heu nostrum nemus aequalesque catervas/, a misera, ut Graias haud sponte*

vageris ad urbes, 7.181 *aequali* . . . *caterva*, 8.142 *aequalesque tibi, Medea, puellae*, Verg. *G.* 4.460 *chorus aequalis Dryadum*, and the apparent source of the present expression *Aen.* 10.194 *aequalis comitatus classe catervas*; it is likely that there has also been influence of Ov. *Met.* 5.394 *et aequales certat superare* (Proserpina, see below). In ARh Medea is accompanied by twelve ἥλικες (3.840). Claudian applies the word in (*Rapt.* 2.239) *aequalemque chorum*. – That in the line preceding the Proserpina simile the word *caterva* is used points to *Aen.* 1.497 *(Dido) magna iuvenum stipante caterva*, preceding the comparison to Diana.

Scythidum the feminine word *Scythis* is found only here and in Ov. *Met.* 15.360 (Bömer *ad loc.*).

*

343. florea per verni qualis iuga duxit Hymetti
344. aut Sicula sub rupe choros hinc gressibus haerens
345. Pallados, hinc carae Proserpina iuncta Dianae,
346. altior ac nulla comitum certante, priusquam
347. palluit et viso pulsus decor omnis Averno;
348. talis et in vittis geminae cum lumine taedae
349. Colchis erat nondum miseros exosa parentes.

343–347 symmetry is provided by the fact that the comparison of Medea with Proserpina has a five-line counterpart in the comparison of Jason with Sirius (368–372). Both similes are unusually long (for VF) and both have tragic undertones (Fitch, 122). For Proserpina picking flowers with and dancing between the virgin-goddesses Diana and Pallas cf. *Hom.Hymn.* = *hDem.*6 (Proserpina) ἄνθεα τ' αἰνυμένην, ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον ἠδ' ἴα καλὰ and further literature *ad* 345. The story also in Ov. *Met.* 5.341ff., *Fast.* 4.417ff.

The simile has traits in common with that of Dido compared to Diana roaming *per iuga* in *Aen.* 1.498ff. Hunter 187 comments on the *anthologia* of virgins preparatory to their being raped. To Medea, happy as she is before Jason came, are ascribed the care-free ways of Proserpina picking flowers and rehearsing dances with her company, just before she saw Hell. In this way the tension before the meeting of Medea and Jason is heightened. If ever there was a sinister comparison, it is the one with the prototype of the 'Death and the Maiden' motif. Proserpina can be compared to Medea in so far as both have been abducted for marriage to an outsider. The difference, of course, is that Medea will be seduced by the *promise* of marriage that Jason will afterwards break.

Shey 147 observes that the rape of Proserpina leads her into a world of darkness, isolated from her family; the prospects for Medea seem ominous, with Jason (at least later in Corinth) as cruel and selfish as Pluto.

For representations in art there is a monograph of 1874 by R. Förster, *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone in ihrer Bedeutung für die Mythologie, Litteratur- und Kunst-Geschichte*, who tries (220) to synthesize from several Greek sarcophagi from Italy the prototype story, which turns out to be wholly in line with Claudian's version (*de raptu Proserpinae*). The so-called *anthologia* phase often already shows Pallas and Diana (as well as Venus, although the presence of all three goddesses is apparently a late development).

On the simile cf. also Bessone 81–87. In addition Hom. *Od.* 6.102ff. is a subtext behind Vergil, as it is in the sequel 363–398, the meeting of Medea and Jason.

343 per . . . iuga duxit . . ./ (choros) cf. *Aen.* 1.498f. *per iuga Cynthi/ exercet Diana choros.*, itself influenced by Callimach. *Hymn.* 3 (Dian.).170 ἡνίκα δ' αἱ νύμφαι σε χορῷ ἔνι κυκλώσονται, and both based upon Hom. *Od.* 6.102ff. (Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὔρεα). Compare further (TLL 3.1062.67ff.) Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.5 *iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus*, 4.7.5f., Tib. 2.1.56 *primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.12.8, Luc.1.597 *vestalemque chorum ducit vittata sacerdos.* Claudian has it thrice: 9(*Ep. pr.*).10, *Carm. min.* 29.28, 34(*Rapt.Pr.2*).52. For *ducere choros* cf. Callimach. *Hymn.* 5 (Pall.). 66f. οὐδὲ χοροστασίαι/ ἁδεῖαι τελέθεσκον, ὄκ' οὐχ ἁγεῖτο Χαρικλώ. In TLL the combination is compared to *pompam, funus, triumphum ducere*; cf. *ducere choreas.* – On the *choreae* of Diana and her nymphs, there is an interesting *excursus* (XX) *ad Aen.1* in Heyne's edition (vol. 2, p. 254) of the *Aeneid.*

florea in its sense of 'full of flowers' in other pre-christian authors only in *Aen.* 1.430 *per florea rura*, Mart. 9.90.1 (*s.v.l.*); also in Sid. *Ep.* 1.6.3 (TLL 6.1.924.55ff.). The flowers are listed in Ovid's version *Fast.* 4.430 *pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus.* In *hDem.* 6ff. the varied flowers in the meadows are described as a snare of Hades.

verni for 'as it is in Spring' cf. (from OLD) Ov. *Met.* 5.554 *cum legeret vernos Proserpina flores*, Tib. 2.1.49, Sen. *Ag.* 670f. *quae verno mobile carmen/ ramo cantat tristis aedon*, Luc. 4.56f., Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.58 *vernos non sic Philomela penates/ circumit*, Lucr. 1.10 *species . . . verna diei.* Mention of spring is very appropriate in any version of the Proserpina myth; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.391 *perpetuum ver est.*

Hymetti Ov. *Ars* 3.687 *prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti*,

Sen. *Phaed.* 23f. *alius dulcis Hymetti/... calcet.* Compare Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 7.702, Nisbet/Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.14.

344 aut cf. *Aen.* 1.498 *in Eurotae ripis* ***aut*** *per iuga Cynthi.*

Sicula sub rupe cf. Diod. Sic. 5.3.2 γενέσθαι δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῆς Κόρης ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἔνναν. This is supported by Sil. 14: 238 *Henna,* 239 *hic specus,* 242f. *hac Stygius quondam... rector/ ausus adire diem,* 245 *tum rapta praeceps Hennaea virgine flexit/...*, 247 *in Styga rursus equos.* Ovid starts his version of the rape with Met. 5.385 *haud procul Hennaeis lacus est a moenibus...* Henna and surroundings are also described as the site of the rape in Cic. *Verr.* 4.107.

gressibus haerens 'never far from the steps of...'; not elsewhere (TLL 6.3.2496.25), but cf. 3.4 *caris socium digressibus haerent,* Luc. 3.24 *haereat illa tuis per bella, per aequora signis.*

345 the presence of Minerva and Diana as a motif in literature in *hDem.* 424 Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα, Eurip. *Hel.* 1315 τὰν (Proserpina) ἁρπασθεῖσαν κυκλίων/ χορῶν ἔξω παρθενίων/ †μέτα κούραν† ἀελλόποδες,/ ἁ μὲν τόξοις Ἄρτεμις, ἁ δ'/ ἔγχει Γοργῶπις πάνοπλος (with Kannicht), Diod. Sic. 5.3.4ff. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ μετὰ τῆς Κόρης τὰς τῆς ὁμοίας παρθενίας ἠξιωμένας Ἀθηνᾶν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν συντρεφομένας συνάγειν μετ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἄνθη, Stat. *Ach.* 1.824ff.: Deidamia is *qualis Siculae sub rupibus Aetnae/ Naidas Ennaeas inter Diana feroxque/ Pallas et Elysii lucebat sponsa tyranni,* Claud. *Rapt.* 2.36ff. *quas inter Cereris proles (... Pallas... Phoebe)*; compare 207f. *stimulat communis in arma/ virginitas.* Peculiar is the Orphic's version, *Arg. Orph* 1192f. ὥς ποτε Φερσεφόνην τέρεν' ἄνθεα χερσὶ δρέπουσαν/ ἐξάπαφον συνόμαιμοι (sisters) ἀν' εὐρύ τε καὶ μέγα ἄλσος, where Pallas and Diana trick Persephone into a plot. On the latter motif compare Richardson where the authenticity of the verse *hDem.* 424 (quoted above), supporting an early presence of both deities, is discussed and defended.

Notice the iconic order in the line, Proserpina between Pallas and Diana; cf. Claud. *Rapt.* 2.36 quoted above.

346 for the motif cf. Hom. *Od.* 6.107 πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα (Artemis among her nymphs) and 109 ὣς ἥ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμής (Nausicaa), *Aen.* 1.501 *deas supereminet omnis* (Dido compared to Diana among the nymphs). Medea is compared to Diana (Λητωὶς) in AR 3.876ff. The motif is also seen in Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.114ff. *Latias metire quid ultra/ emineat matres: quantum Latonia*

nymphas/ virgo premit quantumque egomet Nereidas exsto (Venus speaking).

altior ac *ac* in its sense of 'than' after a comparative, common in Lucr. and Horace, occurs once in Vergil, *Aen.* 3.236, but is very unusual afterwards (TLL 2.1084.38ff.: once in Persius and Suetonius each (with *atque*), very occasionally in Christian Latin). A first-century reader would not hesitate and understand straightaway 'higher *and*', followed by an ablative absolute. Proserpina is taller than her comrades, possibly rather the subservient nymphs than the two goddesses. – For another instance of the coordination of a comparative with an ablative cf. 297 n.

347 palluit et cf. the same words, although without change of subject, in Ov. *Met.* 2.180, 7.136 *palluit, et subito sine sanguine frigida sedit* (Medea seeing Jason fight with the *terrigenae*), 15.764, Luc. 6.502; not in Vergil, Statius, Silius.

pulsus an instance of VF's use of strongly emotional words; cf. 8 n. *pulsus* is less usual with inanimate objects. A possible parallel is Verg. *G.* 4.324f. *quo tibi nostri/ pulsus amor?*. In the corresponding passage, Ov. *Met.* 7.76f. relates of Medea *pulsusque resederat ardor/ cum vidit Aesoniden.*

decor 'good looks, charm'; cf. 8.459 *(Medea) non barbaricae decor ille iuventae.*

Averno frequent for 'Hell' in Verg. (9 instances), in *Aen.* 6.126 in the same final position in the verse, similarly in Sil. 17.466. Before Vergil in an infernal context in Cic. *Tusc.* 1.37.

348 The concluding lines 348/349 of the simile, depicting Medea's happy priesthood, and, therefore, virginity, heighten the contrast with her doomed *liaison* with Jason. – With 348 the second half of book 5 begins. By analogy with the similar practice in Vergil something significant may be expressed right at the middle of the book (see Introduction). Here we meet with the words *talis . . . Colchis erat; talis*, that is before Jason came, a vision of Proserpina before the rape. This, I think, is the effective introduction of Medea; at this instant she has not yet met Jason, not met the fate alienating her from her parents, bringing her on to the shifting paths of a concubine . . . In the very next lines Medea will meet Jason, to change their lives for the worse. These words form a condensed formula to summarize the appearance of Medea, the apogee of Book 5.

talis . . . /(Colchis) the first word of a line going with the first word of the following line; cf. 297 n.

talis et for these words opening the line see TLL 5.2. 914.12ff.; however, *et* must mean 'and', not 'also', or 'even'. *talis* should be taken as referring back to the simile, *et* as an extension, as in Luc. 1.674ff. *qualis . . ./. . .,/ talis et . . ./ prodens . . .* For *talis . . . (erat)* cf. *Aen.* 1.503 *talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat,* following 498f. *qualis . . . exercet Diana choros,* where Dido is introduced just before the meeting with Aeneas and its fateful consequences. In addition compare Ov. *Met.* 8.322 *talis erat cultu facies* (Atalante). The *tertium comparationis* referred to by *talis* is her outstanding beauty as well as the innocent attitude just before disaster strikes.

in vittis as a priestess of Diana (cf. *Aen.* 10.537f. *sacerdos,/ infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta*). For *in* describing her habit see 462 n.; compare also VF 1.839 *venit in vittis . . . sacerdos.* The *vittae* indicate her status as a virgin (VF 8.6 *ultima virgineis tunc flens dedit oscula vittis*), and the fillets may in addition convey overtones of the sacrificial victim (cf., *e.g.*, VF 1.776).

geminae . . . taedae In Vergil there are 37 instances of the plural of *geminus,* only three of the singular. Statius is different (43 and 37, respectively). VF and Lucan are intermediate (14/9; 15/10). With the singular there is always the notion of 'each of two', 'twofold', 'a pair of'. (One must be prepared to take Stat. *Theb.* 4.272 *velatum geminae deiectu lyncis* as 'the skins of a *pair* of lynxes', not simply 'two'.)

taedae to which 379 (*faces*) refers. Certain statues of Hecate show her carrying torches. Nearer home, Diana of Nemi is described in J.G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough, I* as honoured by a procession on 13th August, lit by torches. In VF 7.179 the words *luciferae . . . delubra Dianae* have the same implication. Nevertheless Burman astutely questions the need for *lumina taedae* by day, and supposes it is rather the need of *fire* (and sulphur) for lustration, quoting Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.6 *ceu taedis iterum lustratus honesti/ ignis,* Juv. 2.157 *cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur sulphura cum taedis,* Claud. 28(*Hon. VI Cos.*).324 *lustralem sic rite facem, cui lumen odorum/ sulphure caeruleo nigroque bitumine fumat/. . . rotat . . . sacerdos. lumen* for the flame itself is peculiar. (In some examples of the combination *lumen taedae* in TLL 7.2.1815.54ff. *lumen* is the light dispersed by the flame.)

Shelton 292 thinks *taeda* alludes to the future marriage already in the mind of the reader, who feels he is being prepared for the Meeting. However, not every torch in a story necessarily refers to a marriage, though elsewhere *taeda* can in fact be used as an equivalent of 'marriage' (Catul. 64.302 *nec Thetidis taedas voluit celebrare iugales, Aen.* 4.18

si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset, Ov. *Ep.* 8.35, *Met.* 4.60f. *taedae quoque iure coissent sed vetuere patres*, Sil. 8.54 *despectus taedae*). – If Hercules liberated Prometheus on his 12th August (157 n.), the next day would be 13th August, so that Medea could to a Roman mind possibly be involved in the preparations for the procession of Diana.

349 Colchis for Medea, as Hor. *Epod.* 16.58 *nec impudica Colchis intulit pedem*, Prop. 2.21.11, *Aetna* 596, Sen. *Med.* 871, Luc. 10.464, all in a sinister context; more neutral is Ov. *Rem.* 262. In ARh κολχίς occurs only in apposition (4.1f. κούρης/ κολχίδος, cf. 4.689), but Eur. *Med.* 131f. has ἔκλυον φωνάν . . ./ τᾶς δυστάνου Κολχίδος. Synonyms in Latin are *Phasis* (Ov. *Ars* 3.33, *Ep.* 16.347, *Fast.* 2.42), and *Phasias*, Ov. *Met.* 7.298, *Ep.* 6.103 *Phasias Aeetine*, *Ars* 2.103. In the present passage *Colchis* may characterize her as a barbarian, with whom Jason should never have had anything to do, to the benefit of both.

exosa isolated participle with (in classical authors) active meaning, as in *Aen.* 12.517 *exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten*, VF 6.390 (TLL 5.2.1594.74ff.). In the simile *nondum exosa* is the counterpart to *(priusquam) viso Averno.*

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350. ut procul extremi gelidis a fluminis undis
351. prima viros tacito vidit procedere passu
352. substitit ac maesto nutricem adfata timore est:

350–362 cf. Wetzel 64ff. The *ut procul* clause, the moment Medea sees Jason for the first time, is so close to the midmost line of the book (348) that I suppose that in the schematic composition the meeting has been deliberately planned in the middle. Alternatively, the author was content to have the Proserpina simile there, as a highly poetic way of introducing Medea, Pluto being a symbol of the wretched future rôle of Jason.

350 extremi . . . fluminis 'the farthest away river', a description of the Phasis with its cold waters. For *extremus* cf. ARh 3.679f. ἐπὶ γαίης/ πείρασι, 2.417f. Αἶα δὲ Κολχὶς/ πόντου καὶ γαίης ἐπικέκλιται ἐσχατιῇσιν, Eur. *Med.* 540f.

gelidis a . . . undis TLL 6.1727.73ff. gives a list of the rivers called *gelidus*, among these the Phasis; cf. Luc. 2.585 *gelidas ad Phasidos undas*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.4.27 *gelidi . . . Phasidis*, Claud. 20(*Eutrop.II*).575. Another cold river is the *Hebrus*, as in VF 2.515.

351 (ut) prima (*ut primum*, with the adjective for the adverb, as commonly in epic) 'from the first moment', rather than to stress that she was the first of her company to notice the Greeks; similarly 2.207f. *ut prima vocatu/ intonuit... Mavortia coniunx.*

tacito passu moving without noise, for they may be regarded as enemies. Compare (TLL 10.1.626.47ff., 75) Sil. 15.615, Claud. 28(*VI Cos.Hon.*).509, Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.27 (metaphorically, of years).

352 substitit thrice in VF, all beginning the verse; in the *Aeneid* 5 cases, only one of these not placed in first position.

maesto... timore cf. *Aen.* 1.202f. *maestumque timorem/ mittite*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.379 *vis maesta timoris.* For *maestus* cf. 16 n. With his preference for *maestus*, VF is perhaps to be convicted of following Vergil over-mechanically, since in the present context *maestus* is hardly a functional word.

nutricem a touch of drama; a nurse is on the stage in Aeschyl. *Choeph.*, Eurip. *Med.*, *Hipp.*, Sen. *Med.*, *Phaed.*, *Ag.*, *Her.O.*, as well as in *Octavia.* The model for the rôle of a nurse would be Euryclia, with Philoetius and Eumaeus in significantly similar words (cf. 356 n.) in Ov. *Ep.* 1*(Penelope Ulixi)*.103f. *hac faciunt custosque boum* (Philoetius) *longaevaque nutrix/ tertius immundae cura fidelis harae* (Eumaeus). A *nutrix* to Proserpina, called Electra, plays a rôle in Claud. *Rapt* 3.170ff.

adfata according to TLL 1.1245.33ff., a word of the high epic style; apart from a few occurrences in Cic. (under Ennian influence, Norden 374), Pliny and Suetonius (each once), in prose only since Fronto.

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353. 'quae manus haec, certo ceu me petat agmine, mater,
354. advenit, haud armis, haud umquam cognita cultu?
355. quaere fugam, precor, et tutos circumspice saltus'.

353 certo... agmine for the resoluteness of *me petere* cf. *Aen.* 2.212f. *illi agmine certo/ Laocoonta petunt*, the sinister context of the two snakes.

mater Langen gives some instances of *mater* for an older woman, quoting VF 7.242, 248 where 'Circe', her aunt, is addressed, as well as Ov. *Fast.* 4.513 (a little lass to the disguised Ceres) and Apul. *Met.* 9.17 *ora, mater.* He also quotes *parens* in two stories of Apuleius. Burman stressed that a *nurse* is so called, quoting Pl. *Men.* 19/21 *ita forma simili pueri, ut mater sua/ non internosse posset quae mammam*

dabat,/ neque adeo mater ipsa quae illos pepererat. Pius referred to the *lupa* of Romulus and Remus, called *mater* in *Aen.* 8.632. Of the *nutrix* of Proserpina, Claudian has (*Rapt.* 3.176) *haec comes, haec custos, haec proxima mater haberi.* Compare also *Aen.* 7.441 (Turnus to 'Calybe'). – In Stat. *Theb.* 7.248 Phorbas, functioning as her chaperon, is called by Antigone *pater.*

354 cultu cf. 357 n.

355 quaere fugam Medea has been called 'frightened, helpless' by Wetzel 65, on the basis of *timore* (352), *trepidam* (358); but we have to consider that Aia is a besieged town (273, 537), and the interesting thing is that it is possible at all for a band of women to go to the river. There is a precedent in Liv. 1.11.6 *aquam forte ea* (Tarpeia) *tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat.* – The situation can further be compared to what happens in the story of the Faliscan schoolmaster in Livy 5.27, where *per belli tempus* the boys go out of the gates to play. After they have fallen into Roman hands, Camillus releases them saying *Arma habemus non adversus eam aetatem cui captis urbibus parcitur.* Medea probably makes use of the armistice (276), and, in addition, is a priestess, and a niece to the present army's general.

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356. audit virginei custos grandaeva pudoris
357. Henioche, cultus primi cui creditus aevi
358. tum trepidam dictis firmans hortatur alumnam.

356 audit in Vergil *audit* (with subject mentioned) is normally used of a god hearing *and* granting (compare, however, for its physical sense *Aen.* 10.464 *audiit Alcides iuvenem*). Such a spondaic first metrical foot (cf. 53 n.) carries much focus (Wetzel 65) and may convey a reassuring effect; in addition it gives a slow and emphatic gait to the words.

virginei . . . pudoris cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.205 *olim hic virginei custos monitique pudoris.* Lüthje 214 sees a contrast with Jason's use of *pudor* in 324 *rebus semper pudor absit in artis.* The expression is based upon ARh 3.681f. αἰδὼς/ παρθενίη.

custos 'guardian', although the word can also have the sense of 'guard' (*Aen.* 7.791 *custos virginis Argus*) or 'protector' (*Aen.* 9.405 *nemorum Latonia custos*), in relation to *pudor* both senses seem to coincide: when the maid is guarded, chastity is guaranteed. Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 12.305 quoted above.

grandaeva 7 times VF, thrice Verg., once Stat, thrice Sen. twice Luc. For the words *custos* and *longaeva*, unconnected, in one line cf. 352 *nutricem* n. Hollis *ad* Ov. *Met.* 8.520 notes: "a Virgilian word, as (is) *longaevus*. Earlier we find '*grandaevitas*' in both Pacuvius and Accius". Bader 402 considers *grandaevus* in Pacuvius to have originated as a deliberate translation of Greek μακραίων. The word makes a nice contrast with *virginei* in juxtaposition to the mid-line word in 356. There is another contrast with *primi aevi*.

357 Henioche the name possibly derived from the tribe *Heniochi*, who are found in several descriptions of the north-east Pontus (RE 8.259–280, M. Kiessling); once in VF (6.43), and mentioned *e.g.* by *Orph. Arg.* 751. In Greek the name Henioche occurs a few times (Pape-Benzeler *s.v.*) and is explained by G. Weicker in RE 8.258 as a Boeotian name based on a local goddess having traits of Hera; cf. Hes. *Scut.* 83 ἵκετο δ' ἐς Κρείοντα καὶ Ἡνιόχην τανύπεπλον . . . The name is used for the wife of Creon as well as for his daughter (Paus. 9.10.3). Hellanicus, in Scholiast *ad* Plat. Symp. 208 d, speaks of Ἡνιόχης τῆς Ἀρμενίου, where apparently Armenios is the mythical ancestor of the Armenians; Henioche, his daughter, of the Heniochi.

cultus cf. 354 where the word denotes 'habit', 'clothes'; in the present context 'care' rather is meant.

primi aevi as often, TLL 1.1166.40ff.

358 alumnam very frequent in the *Ciris*, fairly often in Sen., some instances in Ovid *Met.*, Stat., Aus., Claud. (TLL 1.1797.70ff.); significantly in Sen. *Med.* 157f. (her *nutrix* speaking to Medea) *siste furialem impetum/, alumna*, 380 *alumna, . . . quo rapis . . . pedem.*

firmans cf. Verg. *G.* 4.386 *firmans animum sic incipit ipsa*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.45f. *donec labantis consilio patres/ firmaret auctor numquam alias dato*, Sen. *Tro.* 951 *cadentem, misera, firma spiritum.*

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359. 'non tibi ab hoste minae nec vis' ait 'ulla propinquat
360. nec metus: externo iam flammea murice cerno
361. tegmina, iam vittas frondemque imbellis olivae.
362. Graius adest, Graio sic cuncta simillima Phrixo'.

359 non tibi ab the first dactyl occupied by three words; on the subject cf. Poortvliet 98.

minae cf. 362 n.

360 externo not to indicate a non-native quality of purple, but rather enallage with *tegmina*: clothes of a colour such as we do not see here.

flammea 'flame-coloured' (OLD 2b) in some contemporary descriptions of nature: Plin. *Nat.* 18.349, 35.39, 37.95, Sen. *Nat.* 1.3.4. Langen quotes the use of *igneus* in 1.427, 2.342, 6.708; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.265. – For purple raiment cf. K. Schneider, RE 23.2.2009ff., M. Reinhold, *History of purple as a status symbol in antiquity* (Coll. Latomus 116), Brussels, 1970; these are sons of kings (*Graium proceres*, 386), and, for the moment, on an official mission. A ruler in purple figures already in Aristoph. *Eq.* 967. In Roman times wearing purple must have spread in view of Caesar and Nero limiting its use (Suet. *Jul.* 43.1, *Nero* 32.3). In *Aen.* 5.111f. *ostro/ perfusae vestes* are amongst the prizes in the games. Pindarus has Jason wearing a κροκόεν εἷμα (*Pyth.* 4.232 with Gildersleeve: 'a royal color, as well as purple').

361 tegmina already used for 'clothes' by Catul. 64.129 *textile tegmen*, Cic. *Tusc.* 5.90 *Scythicum tegimen*, besides its use elsewhere as 'protection', 'shield'.

vittas for the combination with olive leaves cf. 3.424f. *tempora tum vittis et supplice castus oliva/ implicat.*

olivae for its function as a symbol of peace cf. A.S. Pease in RE 17.2020.56, as well as 3.424f. (quoted above), *Aen.* 8.116 *paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae*, 11.101 *velati ramis oleae*, Sil. 13.68f. *tum pignora pacis/ praetendens dextra ramum canentis olivae/. . . oliva* in different cases (*olivae* 11 times, *oliva* thrice, *olivam* once) occupies the end of the hexameter in Vergil; the same occurs in VF with *oliva, olivae* (once each). For *imbellis* applied to *oliva* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.682f. *ille quidem ramis insontis olivae/ pacificus.*

362 Graius Shelton 293 and Wetzel 66 Anm. 1 see considerable irony in view of *non . . . minae* (359), whereas *minae* were mentioned earlier (256). Shelton considers the repetition *Graius . . . Graio* as ominous: Aeetes's dragon looked *Graium ad orbem* (255), while in 262 the Fleece was to be sent back *Haemoniis terris*. The favourite opinion of *Grai* about themselves is exposed in ARh 3.1105 Ἑλλάδι που τάδε καλά, συνημοσύνας ἀλεγύνειν.

cuncta simillima Phrixo a person of the speaker's age and position must have known Phrixus. – For the theme of a stranger's habit cf. *Aen.* 7.16f. *nuntius . . . ignota in veste reportat/ advenisse viros.*

e2. *363–398. Medea and Jason: the meeting*
After 34 lines on Medea, now 36 lines follow in which the focus is first on Jason, who is compared to the star Sirius, blazing with fierce gleams. Beautified he addresses Medea in a speech modelled upon that of Odysseus to Nausicaa, Hom. *Od.* 6.149–185. She answers in few but clear words and sends him to her father the King. Another source for the scene is Vergil. Summers 29 states summarily 'the meeting of Medea and Jason in the Fifth <book> is simply that of Venus and Aeneas in the First Aeneid' – but there is more to it.

VF has taken directly from Homer *Od.* 6 the motif of a princess going to the river where she meets a hero in distress. Nausicaa is compared to Artemis among the nymphs: Artemis is the tallest. Nausicaa alone is not afraid to stand and wait Odysseus's coming. In his clever address he again compares her to Artemis and blesses her parents and her future husband. She answers in a brief but courteous manner. Odysseus is made comelier and straightaway Nausicaa thinks of him as a model for her husband. Odysseus goes first all alone to the city of the Phaeacians, is later led by Pallas in the guise of a young maiden and covered by a wondrous mist.

When Aeneas meets Venus the hero says *sum pius Aeneas* (*Aen.* 1.378), whereas Odysseus and Jason remain silent about their names. Venus has wrapped him in a cloud, and after enjoying the sculptures of Juno's temple, he sees Dido, who is compared to Diana: she is the tallest. Aeneas is beautified (*Aen.* 1.588ff.) and addresses the queen.

Jason is beautified (365 n.), wrapped in a cloud (400 n.), inspects the sculptures of the Sun'stemple (415–454 n.). VF depicts Medea as a king's daughter (cf. Nausicaa) like Proserpina (his own invention), taller than her nymphs (cf. Nausicaa, Dido), who stands in awe (for correspondences to *Aen.* 1.494ff. cf. 375 n.), and answers like Nausicaa to Jason's speech in which he wonders whether she is Diana or a mortal.

The speeches of Jason and Odysseus are compared in 378–390 n.

The picture drawn is realistic; the psychology of the princess lacks that touch of purity characterizing Nausicaa, who afterall is not a sorceress. Yet, Medea's behaviour is quite natural. Jason's speech does not stiltedly copy the models; in so far as he is not quite sincere, one should realize his mission is a secret one.

On the meeting cf. Adamietz 74/75, Lüthje 216–219, Wetzel 56–75, Shelton 292–299, Shey 148–149.

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363. Sic ait. at Iuno, pulchrum longissima quando
364. robur cura ducis magnique edere labores
365. mole nova et roseae perfudit luce iuventae.
366. iam Talaum iamque Ampyciden astroque comantes
367. Tyndaridas ipse egregio supereminet ore.

363 'but Juno, since a long period of worrying, as well as great ordeals, had eaten away his beautiful strength, overspread him with the light of rosy youth'. The motivation, the 'eating away' of his strength, is VF's own contribution.

Iuno for the lengthening *in arsi* of *-o* cf. 123 n.

364 (pulchrum) robur cf. 2.643 *cum tales intrasse duces, tot robora cerno*, 3.680f. *tendite, dum rerum patiens calor et rude membris/ robur inest*, Lucr. 2.1131 *inde minutatim vivis et robur adultum/ frangit et in partem peiorem liquitur aetas*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.2.7 *mens tamen aegra iacet, nec tempore robora sumpsit.*

edere (= *ederunt*) conjecture of Gronovius for *sedere* Mss.; cf. (TLL 5.2.105.69) Sil. 13.665 *nec edunt oblivia laudem*, Hor. Ep. 1.2.39 *siquid est animum*, Hom. *Il.* 6.202 ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, Luc. 7.43 *o miseri quorum gemitus edere dolorem.* Compared with these, *cura et labores ederunt robur* is extreme in its pathos; cf. 8, 17, 26, 347 nn.

365 robur in view of 53 n. on the significance of a spondaic word in the first foot, *robur* occupies a prominent position; apparently, his now worn-out *robur* was formerly remarkable.

mole nova *moles* may combine 'force' and 'bulk', possibly 'solidity'; cf. *Aen.* 5.430f. *ille . . . fretusque iuventa hic membris at mole valens. mole* may be an attempt at translating πάσσονα (see next n.).

perfudit (mole nova et luce iuventae) for the theme cf. AR 3.918ff., Orph.Arg. 807 Ἥρη γὰρ πάμπαν ἐπίετο καί οἱ ἔδωκε/ κάλλος τε μέγεθός τε καί ἠνορέην ὑπέροπλον (to Jason), *Aen.* 1.588ff., all these inspired by Hom. *Od.* 6.229f. τὸν μὲν Ἀθηναίη θῆκεν Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα/ μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα, *Od.* 23.156f. – Interestingly in Ovid Jason *seems* more beautiful in the eyes of the woman who loves him already (*Met.* 7.84f. *et casu solito formosior Aesone natus/ illa luce fuit; posses ignoscere amanti*).

luce iuventae after *Aen.* 1.590 (Venus transfiguring Aeneas) *lumenque iuventae.*

366 Talaum Ταλαός, one of a pair from Argos, mentioned in 1.358, 3.471, 478, 6.720, ARh 1.118, 2.63, 2.111. – I fail to see why Talaus and Mopsus have been chosen, unless perhaps (since Talaus is mentioned in Greek literature nearly always as father of several children) it is because Talaus was radiant in his children (very down-to-earth), Mopsus was radiant in his visions, but the Tyndaridae radiant in the sky (as the Gemini) – a rising crescendo to be climaxed by Jason. Together they are four of Jason's nine companions, chosen, however, by lot (*sorte*, 326).

Ampyciden that is, Mopsus; cf. 9 n. That he is the son of Ampycus has been explained in ARh 1.1083 Μόψος τ' Ἀμπυκίδης, 1106, 2.923, 3.916f., 4.1502. However, without knowledge of ARh the reader would not know this; cf. 232 n., 7 n.

astro comantes (Tyndaridas) cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.181 *iubar astri* (of Castor), *Theb.* 5.440 *simili coma fulgurat astro* (of Castor and Pollux), Claud. 8(*IV cos.Hon.*).209 *stellati pariter crines (progenies Ledaea)*. According to TLL 3.1755.10ff. *comantes* is applied to people only twice more in VF (referring to the beard, 5.594, 3.136), once in Stat. Silv., once in Sidon. Τυνδαρίδης for Castor or Pollux is from ARh 1.1045, 2.806, 3.1315, 4.593 (earlier already in Pindar and the Homeric Hymns, not in Homer). In Latin already in Cicero, not in Vergil.

367 egregio . . . ore cf. *Aen.* 4.150 *tantum egregio decus enitet ore* (Aeneas with Dido).

supereminet cf. *Aen.* 1.501 *gradiensque (Diana) deas supereminet omnis*, or 6.856 *ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.* The wording of *Aen.* 4.150 (preceding note) and Aen. 1.501 has been conflated in VF's characteristic way.

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non secus autumno quam cum magis asperat ignes
Sirius et saevo cum nox accenditur auro
luciferas crinita faces, hebet Arcas et ingens
Iuppiter. ast illum tanto non gliscere caelo
vellet ager, vellent calidis iam fontibus amnes.

368ff. 'not different from when Sirius in autumn makes more fierce his fires; and with savage gold is made more bright the night, her hair studded with light-bearing gleams'.

autumno rendering ὀπωρινῷ (*Il.* 5.5), ὀπώρης (*Il.* 22.27); for the simile see below.

369 Sirius commentaries agree (Shey 160, 618, Barich 80 n.15) on the sinister implications of the comparison of Jason to the Dog-star Sirius, in a negative context in Verg. *Aen.* 3.141 *tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros*, 10.273ff. *aut Sirius ardor/ ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris/ nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum* (*Sirius* used as an adjective), *G.* 4.425 *iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos/ ardebat caelo*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.13.9 *flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae*, Sen. *Oed.* 39 *ignes auget aestiferi canis*, Lygdamus [Tib.] III.5.2 *unda sub aestivum non adeunda Canem*, Sil. 16.99 *aut cum letiferos accendens Sirius ignes*, ARh 3.957f. Σείριος . . ./ ὃς δή τοι καλὸς μὲν ἀρίζηλός τ' ἐσιδέσθαι/ ἀντέλλει, μήλοισι δ' ἐν ἄσπετον ἧκεν ὀιζύν. All this goes back to Hom *Il.* 5.4f., and, more fully, *Il.* 22.26ff. Manilius has an eye for the astrological implications in 1.396ff.

As to the comparison of Jason to Sirius in Apollonius Rhodius, Medea meets Jason as a sheep ready for burning, struck as she is by the arrow of Eros already *before* the meeting. Hunter 202 points to Hes. *Op.* 586, where it is said that women are most wanton during the Dog[41] Days (μαχλόταται δὲ γυναῖκες), that is, the period when Sirius is first visible in the morning, the hottest days of the year. D.B. Gain, 99 (*The Aratus ascribed to Germanicus Caesar*, London, 1976) comments *ad* 336–340 'When Sirius . . . was first visible on the eastern horizon just before sunrise, the hottest part of the summer began; in Aratus's time the date was about 20th July, in latitude 360 north. There the twilight began about 3.10, Sirius rose about 4.15, the sun about 4.56'. In fact, in English the word 'heat' is ambiguous too. VF, however, paints his Medea as a shy girl, only losing her head *after* the meeting.

Some authors, perhaps never having observed the canopy of heaven, let Sirius itself (by metonomy for its season, in which it is barely visible) blaze and scorch; cf. ARh 2.516f., Verg. *G.* 2.353 *findit canis aestifer arva*, Pers. 3.5f., Claud. (*Carm.min.* 25.119f.).

Smolenaars 1991:67 rightly criticizes Fuà for minimizing the negative aspects of a comparison with Sirius, to be interpreted in the context of *Il.22*.

saevo . . . auro *aurea sidera* figure in *Aen.* 2.488; compare further *aurea . . . luna* in Ov. *Met.* 7.193 and VF 5.566 below *nox aurea. saevus* emphasizes the sinister aspects of Sirius. May VF's words have

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[41] For a possible autonomy of the name *Dog*'s star (of indo-european origin) and not derived from the subordinate rôle of Orions hunting dog (Hom. *Il.* 22.29 ὅν τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι), see Gundel RE 3A 314–351, Le Boeuffle 134.

been influenced by the Sirius simile in *Aen.10* (10.275, *laevo . . . lumine*)?

nox accenditur the *stars* are lit, as in Man. 1.828 *accensis tempora flammis*, 1.872 *accenso . . . vespere.*

370 luciferas in use since Acc. Trag. R331 = W308, Lucr. 5.726 (TLL 7.2.1708.77ff.), *e.g.* Ov. *Ep.* 11.46, *Ars* 3.180 *luciferos . . . equos* for the Moon's steeds; in VF 6.527 used as a substantive, in 7.179 applied to Diana.

crinita used to describe comets (Plin. *Nat* 2.89) *cometas Grai vocant, nostri crinitas (sc. stellas)*, but also splendid stars, Germ. 86f. *ultima mento/ stella sub aetheria lucet crinita Corona*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.387 *multa crinitum missile flamma.* For the use of a passive participle with accusative, reminiscent of Greek medial forms, cf. the interesting list of examples from various authors in Langen, 13–15.

hebet for *habet* Mss., already conjectured by Sabellicus, but also found by Carrio in the *vetus codex.* In fact *accenditur* needs a contrast. *hebere* is not a frequent verb; cf. VF 4.41 *corpus hebet*, 1.53 = 7.156 *ardor hebet*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.386 *hebent irae.* In connection with stars cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.444 *alma dies hebetarat sidera*, Luc. 1.661f. *Venerisque salubre/ sidus hebet*, 2.722 *et iam Plias hebet*, and, more distantly, Stat. *Ach.* 2.2ff. *genitorque coruscae/ lucis adhuc hebetem vicina nocte levabat/. . . lampada.*

Arcas the eponymous hero of the Arcadians, son of Callisto, as such accepted amongst the stars; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.505ff. (*omnipotens . . . imposuit* (Callisto's son) *caelo vicinaque sidera fecit*, *Fast.* 2.153–192 (189f.) *prior est quam dicimus Arcton;/ Arctophylax* (her son) *formam terga sequentis habet*). Arctophylax is nowadays better known under its Greek name Bootes, referring to the constellation The Wain (ox-drawn as it is). In Latin these seven stars of the Wain were called *septentriones*, which refers to seven oxen (Var. *L.* 7.74 *vocant . . . nostri eas septem stellas triones; . . . triones enim et boves appellantur*). For whatever reason they were also named Great Bear. The φύλαξ apparently takes over the rôle of a guard (for bears) of which there is no longer the original need as soon as we cease to speak of oxen.[42] The brightest star of

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[42] Aratus, *Phaen.* 91f. has ἐξόπιθεν δῴ Ἑλίκης φέρεται ἐλάοντι ἐοικὼς/Ἀρκτοφύλαξ, τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες ἐπικλείουσι Βοώτην, ὅυνεχ' ἁμαξαίης ἐπαφώμενος εἴδεται Ἄρκτου. In Sen. *Thy.* 874 Arctophylax is introduced as *custos sui tardus plaustri*, after the *Ursae* have been mentioned in 869, in 867 the *Plostra*, a queer mix; similarly in *Ag.* 70 *lucida versat plaustra Bootes.* The astute brain of Cicero (*Arat.*, frg. 16) rationalizes the Bear into the animal drawing the wain, needing a guardian, *Arctophylax, vulgo qui dicitur esse Bootes,/ quod quasi temone adiunctam prae se quatit Arctum*, in that way distinguishing

the constellation is *Arcturus*. Germ. speaks of Bootes as a (90) *senior*, (91) *sive ille Arctophylax seu Bacchi ob munera caesus/ Icarus*; (93) *non illi obscurum caput est*, (94f.) *sed proprio tamen una micat sub nomine flamma:/ Arcturum dixere.* Apparently Arcturus is the star that pales when Sirius appears, since in the Northern hemisphere it is the brightest star except for Sirius and the circumpolar stars Vega and Capella. In antiquity it appears to have been felt as the Number Two: Arat. *Phaenom.* 95 ἐξ ἄλλων 'Αρκτουρος ἑλίσσεται ἀμφαδὸν ἀστήρ ('more than others'), Pl. *Rud.* 3 Arcturus playing the part of Prologue, *ita sum, ut videtis, splendens stella candidus.*

Arcturus is certainly not a circumpolar star in the Mediterranean, and its risings and settings have been given due significance ever since Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1137 ἐξ ἦρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον (from Spring to Autumn).

371 (hebet) . . . Iuppiter in fact brighter even than Sirius. Only the three planets, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, are able to surpass the brightness of Sirius (λαμπρότατος, Hom. *Il.* 22.30, Man. 1.410 *cetera vincuntur specie*); Jupiter is constantly brighter than Sirius, and is possibly chosen because of his mythological link with the son of Callisto (see above).

ast absent from Catul., Lucr., Tib., Prop., Hor. *Carm.*; present in Hor. *Sat.*, *Epod*, Verg. *Aen.*, Ovid, followed by later poets (TLL 2.943.23ff.). Normally before a vowel, as here, as well as 5 more times in VF.

tanto Slothouwer *tantum*, supported by Langen, Reuss, Bury, *toto* Sabellicus, Caussin, Ph. Wagner, *tardo* Baehrens). Strand 21 defends *tanto caelo*, with the interpretation 'an increasingly large part of the sky'.

gliscere 'to increase in force'; Poortvliet 166 gives statistics for the unusual verb, in VF also at 2.278, 3.632.

372 The *ager*, the *amnes*, are highlighted as in Verg. *G.* 4.427f., *Aen.* 3.141f., Sen *Oed.* 41.

fontibus (ed. princ., Carrio) for *foribus* **L** and **V**; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.13.9f. to his *Fons Bandusiae*: *te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae/*

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between Bear and Wain, although these are names for the *same* stars. So in Claud. 1(*Prob. Olybr.*).26 *plaustro iam rara intermicat Arctos*, 15(*B. Gild.*).501 *non Plaustris Arctove regor.* G. Maurach, *Germanicus und sein Arat*, Heidelberg, 1978:147, already noticed the discrepancy. Some more details on the use of *custos* (*custodem ursae*, Ov. *Fast.* 2.153) in Le Boeuffle 94.

nescit tangere. roribus Heinsius, printed by Baehrens, Bury, Giarratano, Mozley, is not necessary. There may be a relationship with *siccis/ faucibus* in Verg. *G.* 4.427f.

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373. regina, attonito quamquam pavor ore silentem
374. exanimet, mirata tamen paulumque reductis
375. passibus in solo stupuit duce. nec minus inter
376. ille tot ignoti socias gregis haeret in una
377. defixus sentitque ducem dominamque catervae.

373 regina Poortvliet 157 mentions some more princesses spoken of as *regina*; here, in the moment of confrontation between Jason and Medea, the word is used because Nausicaa was addressed in *Od.* 6.149 as ἄνασσα! Compare *regina* in 385, again corresponding to ἄνασσα in Homer.

attonito . . . ore unparalleled (TLL 2.1156.70ff.), but cf. VF 3.532, 7.191 *attonitos vultus*, Petr. 82 *attonito vultu.* For *attonito pavor ore . . . / exanimet* cf. 15 n. *pavore/ attoniti.*

quamquam with subjunctive, first in Ovid, followed by silver epic and Tacitus (Sz. 602f.); in 480 with indicative. Axelson 124 speaks of a 'distinct preference' in VF for *quamquam* (14 cases) over *quamvis* (4).

374 exanimet in a figurative sense referring to fear.

reductis (passibus) cf. Petr. 136.10 *reduxi igitur gradum*, an expression not used by Verg., Ov., Hor., Sen., Luc., Stat.

375 in solo a conjecture of Heinsius. The Mss. have *in solito*, which can easily be emended to *insolito*. The alternatives are: *stupuit in solo duce* and *stupuit insolito duce.* Now verbs of emotion can be followed by an ablative (K/S 1.397), but then the reason for the emotion is not a person. Some support for *insolito duce* comes from Stat. *Theb.* 8.346 *stupet insolito clangore Cithaeron.* The word *insolitus* is unusual, but occurs (TLL 7.1.1933.1ff.) in several poets, in Varro At., Lucr., Verg. *G.*, Prop., Ov., Luc., Sen., Stat. However, for *stupet in duce* there is an exact parallel in *Aen.* 10.446 *stupet in Turno.* Therefore *stupuit in solo duce* has the best support.

stupuit coordinated with *mirata (sc. est).* In view of the correspondences in line 377 with *Aen.* 1.495 and 1.497 the line *Aen.* 1.495 *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno (Dido)* can be considered the model; *Aen.* 1.613 *obstipuit (Dido)* may have played a minor rôle.

376 tot cf. *Aen.* 1.499 *mille secutae.*

socias gregis *socia* used as a substantive is not frequent; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 17.267 *cetera per socias Clymenen Aethramque loquamur. grex* applied to people instead of cattle or sheep also in Ter. *Hau.* 245f. *ancillarum gregem/ ducunt secum* . . ., Stat. *Ach.* 1.564 *namque ut virgineo stetit in grege durus Achilles,* Mart. 6.47.4 *sive Camenarum de grege nona venis. gregis* can be considered partitive genitive, and *socias gregis* rendered as 'the members of her female flock'. – For the connotations of *grex* cf. 377 *catervae* n.

haeret cf. *Aen.* 1.717f. *haec oculis haec pectore toto/ haeret,* Prop. 1.3.19 *intentis haerebam fixus ocellis,* Ov. *Met.* 2.409f. *in virgine Nonacrina/ haesit,* 10.359 *illa silet primo patriisque in vultibus haerens.*

377 is a verse of the rare *ssdd* pattern, also found in 399, 432, 594, 647. Here it can be considered to depict stupefaction at first, glad understanding of the situation next.

(in una) defixus after *Aen.* 1.495 *defixus in uno*; cf. *Aen.* 1.226 *et Libyae defixit lumina regnis,* Ov. *Am.* 2.8.15 *ut tamen iratos in te defixit ocellos.* The words repeat *in solo stupuit duce*; it is a case of reciprocal love at first sight.

defixus . . . ducem . . . dominam significant alliteration; cf. 217 n.

sentit . . . dominam with double accusative; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.160ff. *vilicus Orbi/. . ./ te dominum sentit.*

ducem . . . catervae *caterva* does not in itself as have as strong associations with cattle as has *grex,* but in view of the use of both words and the expression *duxque gregis* in Ov. *Am.* 3.13.17, *Met.* 5.327 (both rams), *Ars* 1.326 (a bull), it is difficult not to see in *grex* and *caterva* an allusion to μήλοισι as quoted from ARh in 369 n. The word *caterva* occurs in *Aen.* 1.497 immediately after *defixus in uno.*

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378. 'si dea, si magni decus huc ades' inquit 'Olympi,
379. has ego credo faces, haec virginis ora Dianae
380. teque renodatam pharetris ac pace fruentem
381. ad sua Caucaseae producunt flumina nymphae.

378–390 Jason's speech is closely modelled upon Hom. *Od.* 6.149–185. Homer's longer speech starts with a formal greeting, followed by two εἰ clauses. The first, *Od.* 6.150–152, is taken up by 378 *si* – 381. (The nymphs added are derived from the comparison of Nausicaa

to Artemis earlier in *Od.* 6.105, or from the comparison of Medea to Artemis in ARh. 3.881.) The second, *Od.* 6.153–157, corresponds to 382 *si* ff. Odysseus now compliments the future husband (6.158–159; compare 383/4) and cunningly brings the talk to the beauty of the addressee, only comparable to one particular palm tree he has seen during his wanderings. His situation is explained implicitly, 6.164 πολὺς δέ μοι ἕσπετο λαός, to be compared with *advehimur Graium proceres* (385/6). He resumes: 'Help me!' (6.175), corresponding to 385. Odysseus explains that it is in her (σε) that his hope resides, because he knows no one else (6.176); Jason (*ignarus locorum*) waits till the end before dramatically invoking Medea's support, *deus* ***te*** *dedit, in* ***te*** *omnia nostra repono.* Now Odysseus asks to be shown the way to the town and again alludes to the happiness of her future marriage. Jason asks for the way to Aea and for hints as to access to the king. (Digressing upon Medea's future happiness would be quite inappropriate; VF refuses to overdo the dramatic irony already implied in 383/4.)

378–381 'if you are a goddess, and are here as a jewel of wide Olympus, I take these torches and your face for Diana's, while these are nymphs from the Caucasus accompanying you to their rivers, you having left behind your quiver and enjoying peace'.

378 si dea comparing mortal beauties to goddesses is a device ever since Hom. *Od.* 6.149–185; cf. *Aen.* 1.327f. *namque haud tibi vultus/ mortalis* . . .; *o dea certe*, Ov. *Met.* 4.321f. (Salmacis to Hermaphroditus) *seu tu deus es, potes esse Cupido/ sive es mortalis, qui te genuere, beati.* The rhetorical anaphora of *si* adds emotion.

decus . . . Olympi in view of the comparison with Diana Hor. *Saec.* 2 *Diana lucidum caeli decus* is most significant. *decus* is a compliment paid in VF 1.56 *i, decus, et . . . redde*, 3.522f. *Nymphas/ undarum nemorumque decus*, Catul. 64.78 *electos iuvenes simul et decus innuptarum*, *Aen.* 11.657 *ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla.*

379 credo short *-o*; cf. Kösters 87. So in 7.445; with long *-o* in 4.653.

faces cf. 348 *taedae* n.

ora Carrio's *vet. cod.* read *ora*, against **V** and **L** *arma.* Rightly Burman remarks that Medea went out for ritual purification, not for hunting; and as long as called *pace fruentem* she would not bear arms. One of the few readings of **C** printed in Ehlers, and very likely to be

an authorial one. *ora Dianae* occurs in *Aen.* 4.511 (but *arma Dianae* in 11.652!)

380 renodatam a word used only once more (OLD): Hor. *Epod.* 11.28 *(ardor) teretis pueri longam renodantis comam*, where OLD takes it as 'tied back'; in the present situation (in view of the *armistice* reigning) the interpretation can only be '*un*knotted', '*un*tied', and this may possibly also be right for *Epod.* 11.[43] The prefix *re-*, 'back', also denotes negation, 'retracting', 'undoing', like *recingere* (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.75 *ferrumque recingi*), *refigere* (cf. *clipeo . . . refixo*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.11). – There is a nice chiasma involved in *renodatam pharetris ac pace fruentem.*

pharetris '(you are unknotted) from your quiver'; Kleywegt 1986b: 2455f. discusses the novelty of several ablatives of separation in VF. That the quiver is mentioned may stem from the comparison of Nausicaa to Ἄρτεμις . . . ἰοχέαιρα in *Od.* 6.102 rendered by Vergil in *Aen.* 1.500 *illa (Diana) pharetram/ fert umero.* With *renodata pharetris* compare also 135 *umeros nudata pharetris* and Sen. *Her.O.* 787f. *posuitque clavae pondus et pharetra graves/ laxavit umeros.*

381 Caucaseae Nymphs roaming about in Colchis will come from the Caucasus, as in Greece from the Taygetos, Verg. *G.* 2.487f. *virginibus bacchata Lacaenis/ Taygeta!*, Hom. *Od.* 6.102f. οἵη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι . . ., 103 ἢ κατὰ Τηΰγετον περιμήκετον, Call. *Dian.* (3) 188 Τηΰγετον δ' ὀρέων . . . (φίλαο).

producunt *producere*, 'to conduct, to escort, accompany', more often in connection with funerals; however, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.313f. *una soror producere tristis/ exsulis ausa vias*, VF 6.527f. *qualis roseis it Lucifer alis/ quem Venus illustri gaudet producere caelo.*

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382. si domus in terris atque hinc tibi gentis origo,
383. felix prole parens olimque beatior ille,
384. qui tulerit longis et te sibi iunxerit annis.
385. sed fer opem, regina, viris! nos hospita pubes
386. advehimur, Graium proceres tua tecta petentes.

383 felix prole cf. *Aen.* 6.784 *(Roma) felix prole virum* (with Norden *ad loc.*) with ablative of a *person*, as in Ov. *Met.* 7.799 *coniuge eram felix,*

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[43] Nauck/Weissenfels's Horace commentary, 1905, states: "= enknoten"; but Nauck/Hoppe, 1926, again glosses the word with *nodo religare.*

felix erat illa marito. The words are reminiscent of *Aen.* 1.606 *qui tanti talem genuere parentes?* In *Aen.* 6.784 the words occupy the same position in the line as here; probably VF, by borrowing from Vergil, has as a result put the word *felix* in a strongly emphatic position (cf. 53 n.) not needed for his own purposes. The background of all this is Hom. *Od.* 6.154 τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοίγε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.

olim 'one day in the future', as in *Aen.* 4.627 *nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires,* or Quint. 10.1.94 *sunt clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur.* In the same sense in VF 5.434 *venturosque olim . . . Achivos.*

beatior ille Garson 1969:363 feels it is 'grim irony' that her future husband is to be envied; Lüthje 216 supposes that Jason is theatrically alluding to himself as the future husband. Rightly Barich 81 speaks rather of tragic irony involved in 'an innocent and conventional' (borrowed from *Od.* 6.158/159) compliment. The textual basis is probably Ov. *Met.* 4.325f. *sed longe cunctis et longeque beatior illa/ si qua tibi sponsa est, si quam dignabere taeda!,* where Ovid's piquancy lies in the fact that in contrast to the situation in Homer or in VF it is the *woman* speaking.

384 tulerit used for 'carrying home the bride' by Ovid, *Ep.* 19.176 *Iason impositam celeri Phasida puppe tulit, Ars* 1.128 *sublatam* (a Sabine woman) *cupido vir tulit ipse sinu,* 2.7 *talis erat qui* (Pelops) *te* (Hippodamia) *curru victore ferebat.*

longis . . . annis 'for a long period'; in a similar context of the relation between man and woman in (TLL 7.2.1637.5ff.) Prop. 2.15.37f. *quod mihi si interdum talis concedere noctes/ illa velit, vitae longus et annus erit.* For the plural combination no parallel is cited (nor under *annis* TLL 2.117.44ff.).

sibi iunxerit 'forming a union', as in *Aen.* 4.28 (Dido speaking) *primus qui me sibi iunxit.* In various other passages such as Hor. *Carm.* 1.33.7f. *prius Appulis/ iungentur capraeae lupis (quam . . .),* Plin. *Nat.* 7.57 *inter se sterilis ubi cum aliis iunxere se, gignunt, sicut Augustus et Livia,* Suet. *Ves.* 11.1 *auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quae se alieno servo iunxisset, ancilla haberetur,* it is clear that the words do not refer to a regular stable marriage. Possibly these overtones are intended to create still more dramatic irony in VF.

385 sed fer opem, regina taking up Hom. *Od.* 6.175 ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαιρε!

hospita pubes as in 3.272 *sumus hospita turba* 'we have been guests to you!'; here 'we come as guests'. According to TLL

6.3.3032.75ff. two isolated instances of *hospita*, since they do not *extend*, as is usual when *hospes* is used, but *enjoy* hospitality. OLD classifies the present passage under 'foreign, alien'. To people under siege, however, identification as foreigners would not suffice; their being potential guests should be stressed.

386 Graium proceres cf. *Aen.* 6.489 *Danaum proceres* for the Trojan heroes of whom Medea now sees the fathers. The word *proceres* "gehört der hohen Sprache an" (Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 3.530).

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387. duc, precor, ad vestri quicumque est ora tyranni
388. ac tu prima doce fandi tempusque modumque.
389. nam mihi sollicito deus ignaroque locorum
390. te dedit, in te animos atque omnia nostra repono.

387 quicumque est Jason knew the king's name in 317 from Pelias, 1.43, and apparently behaves on purpose as more helpless than he is (cf. Wetzel 71).

tyranni I suppose the choice between *rex* and *tyrannus* (for the connotations of the latter cf. 264 n., for the difference between the two words cf. 258 n.) is sometimes made for metrical reasons. After all, even Amycus was called *rex* in 4.101. In the present situation, one would have expected Jason to do his utmost in addressing the princess with the choicest of words, just as he speaks of, and to, Aeetes himself consistently as *rex* in 405, 471.

388 ac tu emendation by Pius for *astu* Mss. Poortvliet 1995 proposes *at tu*; however, to my mind there is on the basis of the context no need to emphasize the contrast implied in *at*.

tempusque modumque cf. *Aen.* 4.293f. *quae mollissima fandi/ tempora, quis rebus dexter modus* (Aeneas thinking), 4.475 *tempus secum ipsa modumque/ exigit* (Dido). Moment and method are shown to Jason in 403ff. For *-que . . . -que* cf. 493, 575. Ennian and Vergilian *-que -que* (ultimately derived from Homer) are less frequent in later poets. H. Christensen, ALL 15 (1908) 165–211, states (198) that *modus* is often involved in a *-que -que* relationship.

389 nam mihi sollicito cf. in the same metrical position, *Aen.* 3.389 *cum tibi sollicito.*

ignaroque locorum cf. *Aen.* 1.332f. *ignari hominumque locorumque/ erramus.*

390 te animos the elision of a long monosyllable is unusual (Summers 51, Kösters 37ff.). It occurs in book 5 in 390 before a short syllable, as well as 459 *qui advenerat*, 517 *te horrifero*, 537 *me ingentibus*, 584 *si amnigenam*. – Undoubtedly it is difficult to discover exact sense in *animos*. Watt has proposed to read *animas*, for which he adduces Sen. *Med.* 304 *animam levibus credidit auris*, Juv. 12.57 *ventis animam committe*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.268f. *iuventus/ mandavere animas*. On the other hand *animas* is perhaps too easy a solution; Medea has no power to save lives and the Argonauts are not in immediate danger. Possibly *in te animos atque omnia nostra repono* is one of those utterly Valerian expressions that baffle translators, confronted with a lack of parallels, although the general sense presents no difficulty: something like 'all our hopes' (emotions, *animi*) 'for a succesful enterprise' (what else can *nostra* stand for?) 'are pinned on you'.

in te . . . omnia nostra repono cf. Liv. 8.30.4 *quod omnia in dictatore viderentur reposita esse*, Sen. *Dial.* 2.5.4 *omnia in se reposuit, nihil fortunae credit.* Compare the note on the speech 378–390 for the correspondence to σε in the Nausicaa scene in Hom. *Od.* 6.175. With regard to the sense Shelton 299 sees 'a strong foreshadowing of the help which Medea will give him'.

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391. dixit et opperiens trepidam stetit. illa parumper
392. virgineo cunctata metu sic orsa vicissim:
393. 'quem petis Aeeten, genitor meus ipsaque iuxta
394. moenia, si vivos possis discernere calles.
395. hac adeo duce ferte gradus! ingentia namque
396. castra alios aditus atque impius obsidet hostis'.
397. dixerat haec patriumque viam detorquet ad amnem
398. sacraque terrificae supplex movet inrita Nocti.

391 opperiens in *Aen.* 1.454, just before the description of the temple reliefs, we find *reginam opperiens*, very likely in the poet's mind when he applies the same verb to Medea, because Jason will see works of art depicting himself (5.416ff.), in the same way as Aeneas in *Aen.* 1.454–493. In the *Aeneid* the word is functional because one is waiting for the queen; in VF the word is much less appropriate because Jason is only waiting for Medea to begin to speak.

trepidam cf. 220 n.

parumper 5 times in VF, always as the last word of the

hexameter, just as the instances in Enn. *Ann.*, *Aen.* 6.382, Stat. *Theb.* 6.447.

392 virgineo cunctata metu 'maiden-fear'; cf. 427 *virgineo turbata metu* (the nymph Aea, overwhelmed by the river-god Phasis).

sic orsa vicissim for the words cf. *Aen.* 7.435 *sic orsa vicissim/ ore refert*, 11.123 *sic ore vicissim/ orsa refert.* In 392, however, there is ellipse of *est*, as in 403, 552.

393 genitor cf. 126 n.; the word occurs in 24, 126, 246, 403, and here.

ipsaque *-que* connects *genitor* and *moenia*; the phrase can be construed as "*genitor meus Aeetes (quem petis) et moenia* (the town) *iuxta sunt* (are not far off)".

iuxta For *iuxta* with *esse* cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.64 *nec genitor iuxta*, Pers. 6.52 *exossatus ager iuxta est.*

394 vivos calles despite several attempts to replace *vivos* (*veros* Junt.1517 *def.* Watt, *tutos* Bon.1474, *bivios* Heinsius, *binos* Baehrens), the word can stand in view of Langen's defence (based on 395f.): paved roads are held by the enemy, only small *natural* animal tracks are available; cf. *Aen.* 1.167 *vivoque sedilia saxo.* One may think of some rocky outcrops in the alluvial plain supporting and protecting the city.

395 hac for *huc* Mss. That a servant is sent appears only from 399 *famula.*

adeo gives emphasis to the preceding word, especially in the case of a pronoun (TLL 1.614.73ff.); cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.11 *teque adeo*, *Aen.* 4.96 *me adeo*, 7.427, 11.275 *haec adeo.*

396 castra . . . atque . . . hostis hendiadys (Maurach 19ff.), in its special form combining a more concrete description with a specification, 'the enemy camp'; cf. 416 *cunabula . . . ortusque*, 'our original descent'.

impius since a war between brothers is concerned: cf. 221 *impia proelia.* When Ceres finds her daughter abducted with the full connivance of Jupiter, even he, being her brother, is called *impius* (Claud. *Rapt.* 3.326).

397 detorquet the verb is unusual, though more frequent in poetry (TLL 5.1.819.44ff.); the combination *viam detorquet* is unparalleled, but cf. *Aen.* 4.196 *(Fama) protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban.*

patrium . . . amnem cf. 134 n.

398 sacra . . . inrita that is, in spite of the purifications her dreams will come true.

sacra . . . movet cf. VF 3.232 *motis . . . sacris*, 3.540 *sacra moventem*, or Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.301 *moveri enim sacra dicebantur cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa*; slightly different Stat. *Theb.* 3.450f. *vatum mentes ac provida veri/ sacra movere deum.*

terrificae . . . Nocti J.A. Wagner took *Nox* as referring to Hecate; Caussin corrected this, emphasizing that the *night* wherein the dream came was to be propitiated. There seems to be a parallel in Ov. *Fast.* 1.455 *nocte deae Nocti cristatus caeditur ales* (a cock); however, Bömer *ad loc.* comments "Nox als römische Gottheit gibt es nicht, und Nyx ist ein Schattenwesen dichterischer Phantasie" (although Fraser had translated the phrase as 'to Goddess Night').

e3. *The palace, 399–454*

Between the two confrontations of Jason, one with his future bride, one with her father the tyrant, a long description of works of art is inserted, after the model of Odysseus and the Phaeacians (Hom. *Od.* 7.81–132), Jason in ARh (3.213–246), and Aeneas at Dido's temple of Juno, *Aen.* 1.446–493. The interval heightens the tension of the story, and offers the chance to present a fine piece of literature.

Other descriptions of the same genre are those of the doors of the temple at Cumae (*Aen.* 6.14–34), of the doors of the temple of Minerva in Syracuse (Cic. *Verr.* 4.124 *ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta erant in valvis*), of the shield of Aeneas *Aen.* 8.626–728 depicting Rome's future, of the palace of Picus in *Aen.* 7.170–191 with ancestral scenes, of the silver doors of the Sun's palace, Ov. *Met.* 2.1–18 (with Bömer *ad* 2.1–48), and of Apollo's temple in Prop. 2.31.9–16 *in quo Solis erat supra fastigia currus, et valvae, . . .: altera . . . Gallos, altera maerebat funera Tantalidos*, Sil. 3.32–44 (the doors of the temple of Hercules near Gades); compare Adamietz 75/76. VF has something similar in the description of the pictures on Argo's hull, 1.130–148. On the disagreement concerning the interpretation of the doors see 415 n.

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399. Ille autem inceptum famula duce protinus urget
400. aere saeptus iter, patitur nec regia cerni
401. Iuno virum, prior Aeetae ne nuntius adsit.

399 The *ssdd* metrical pattern perhaps depicts Jason starting cautiously, then taking courage and speeding up.

autem gives emphasis and contrast to a new situation. It occurs frequently with pronouns (TLL 2.1589.47ff.): in the present book 128, 399, 576, 605. *ille autem* opens the line in 7.32; see for *illi* or *ille autem* further 3.262, 4.291, 6.273, 8.287 (cf. *ipse autem* thrice in VF).

400 aere saeptus the motif comes from Homer *Od.* 7.14f. ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη/ πολλὴν ἠέρα χεῦε, repeated in 41f. οἱ ἀχλὺν/ θεσπεσίην κατέχευε, ARh 3.210f. τοῖσι... Ἥρη.../ ἠέρα πουλὺν ἐφῆκε δι' ἄστεος, *Aen.* 1.411 *at Venus obscuro gradientis aere saepsit,.../ cernere ne quis eos... posset* (cf. *cerni*).

regia (Iuno) cf. πότνια Ἥρη, Homer, *passim*, and *Aen.* 1.443, 4.114 (with Pease), 7.438, 10.62, VF 6.650, Stat. *Theb.* 7.221, 8.503.

401 virum for the use of *vir* for oblique forms of *is* see 267 n. However, here *virum* also has overtones of reverence as in *Aen.* 2.280 (cf. Austin *ad loc.*).

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402. iamque inerat populo mediaeque incognitus urbi
403. cum comes orsa loqui: 'Phoebi genitoris ad aras
404. ventum.' ait 'huc adytis iam se de more paternis
405. rex feret, hic proceres audit populosque precantes
406. adloquiis facilis; praesens pater admonet aequi.
426. dixerat. ast illi propere monstrata capessunt
407. limina non aliter quam si radiantis adirent
408. ora dei verasque aeterni luminis arces,
409. tale iubar per tecta micat.

402 cf. *Aen.* 1.439f. *infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)/ per medios, miscetque viris neque cernitur ulli.*

404 ventum sc. *est.* The impersonal expression can include the speaker as an *Agent,* as in French 'on'. Then *genitoris* would seem to lack point, since Phoebus is father of the king, not of the speaker. Possibly all Colchians see themselves as progeny of the Sun.

adytis paternis Langen compares 456 *cum se Sole satus patriis penetralibus infert,* and concludes that *adytis* must be dative. It is difficult to ignore the parallellism of the two lines, implying identity of the *adyta* and the *penetralia, i.e.* the temple; *adytis paternis* must be specifying

huc. For a similar dative (TLL 7.1.1378.65ff.) cf. VF 1.487f. *se mediae . . . carinae/ intulit, Aen.* 11.36 *foribus sese intulit altis,* Luc. 10.58 *intulit Emathiis . . . tectis.*

406 adloquiis facilis Lüthje 220 explains the discrepancy between this description and what was said earlier (*nec vulgi cura tyranno,* 264!) because now things are seen from the point of view of a servant at the court. (Shelton 300 is sceptical and thinks Aeetes is a just ruler *only* when under the eyes of his father!). Apparently VF uses as a model for a monarch as judge and law-giver *Aen.* 1.507 *(Dido) iura dabat legesque viris.* – *adloquium* occurs in poetry only after Vergil; cf. Stadler 108. *facilis* for gods is also used in Hor. *S.* 1.1.21ff. *(Juppiter) se fore posthac/ tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?,* Sen. *Oed.* 198f. *solum hoc faciles/ tribuere dei,* Ov. *Ep.* 16.282 *sic habeas faciles in tua vota deos.*

admonet aequi in the present ethical sense similar to Apul. *Met.* 4.10 *salutis communis admonens.*

426 transposed to its present location ever since 1498 because this was already indicated by signs in the Mss.

propere rare in epic poetry with the exception of Sil., in VF only here and 2.237; cf. Håkanson 48 and Poortvliet 146.

monstrata may show the influence of the epic model, *Aen.* 1.443 *signum quod regia Iuno/ monstrarat, caput acris equi* (cf. 407 *limina* n.).

capessunt various localities can 'be made for', TLL 3.310.42ff.; the verb is not frequent, but occurs in many writers, in the present sense in particular in Vergil and VF.

407 non aliter *etc.:* on the radiant palace cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.19ff., *e.g.* 23f. *sedebat/ in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis,* with Bömer (*ad* Ov. *Met.* 2.1–48). The simile is an excentric and incomplete one: they cross the threshold and enter a building (*tecta*) <that is as radiant> as if the god was in fact present.

limina may have been chosen because of *Aen.* 1.448 *(templum) aera cui gradibus surgebant limina.*

408 aeterni luminis the Sun; the combination is only used elsewhere (TLL 1.1143.72ff.) by Cic. *Arat* 237 and 332 *haec sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans.*

409 tale iubar the same words in 3.560, describing light of the sun at noon reflected in a river.

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409. stat caelifer Atlans
410. Oceano genibusque tumens infringitur unda.
411. at medii per terga senis rapit ipse nitentes
412. altus equos curvoque diem subtexit Olympo.
413. pone rota breviore soror densaeque sequuntur
414. Pliades et madidis rorantes crinibus ignes.

409ff. on the whole scene cf. Aen. 1.446–493, the more so since everything in Juno's temple in Carthage was of bronze, 448f. *aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque/ aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.* On the first object of art, Shey 150 comments, 'First Jason sees on the frieze of the temple above the doors a representation of the Ocean, Atlas, Sol, Luna and the Pleiades'.

409 stat the statue stands like the globe in Ov. *Fast.* 6.278 *stat globus, immensi parva figura poli.*

caelifer obviously statues of the time are of marble or of bronze; *iron* (as implied in *ferreus* Mss.) in the Sun's temple, of all places, would not do! (A special case is *Aen.* 8.700f. *Mavors/ caelatus ferro*, because of the associations between War and Iron). *ferreus* could be taken as 'robust', durable'; cf. Aen. 4.247 *Atlantis duri* (Austin *ad loc.* 'suggests both the physical aspect of the grim mountain, and the inflexible hardness'); compare further Ov. *Met.* 15.149 *validi umeris . . . Atlantis*, or *Aen.* 10.745f. = 12.309f. *dura quies et ferreus/ somnus.* If so, the epithet would be a very unlucky choice. It is, however, very unlikely that a description would start with a metaphorically used adjective. This is a different case from Ov. *Met.* 13.516 *quo ferrea resto?* (Hecuba speaking, having outlived all her children). The attractive conjecture *caelifer* for *ferreus* was suggested by Heinsius on the analogy of *caelifer Atlas*, in the same final position of the line in *Aen.* 6.796; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.83 *caelifero Atlante.* If *caeli-* and *-fer* were separated in the Ms., the line might have been no longer understood, *ferreus* conjectured, and *caeli* eliminated for metrical reasons. I feel we have to change the text to *caelifer.*

Atlans the alternative ways of spelling *Atlas/Atlans* have been recorded by Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 2.296; a list of passages, comments on the name, and on the myths of Atlas as the bearer of the vault of heaven is given by Pease *ad Aen.* 4.247. Vergil's description, *Aen.* 4.246ff., of Mercury flying over the mountain chain of the Atlas is a

prime example of personification, on which see Austin *ad loc.* Sil. 1.201ff. has followed Vergil; *genibus . . . infringitur unda* finds a counterpart in Sil. 1.208 *tum geminas laterum cautes maria alta fatigant.* Sun, Moon and stars move on the outside of the globe as carried by Atlas, to which *per terga senis* refers. Philostratus *Icon.* 2.20.2 describes a figure of Atlas as follows: τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὃν φέρει, γέγραπται μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι, ὁποῖος περὶ ἀστέρας ἕστηκεν, ἔστι δὲ ξυνεῖναι ταύρου τε, ὃς δὴ ἐν οὐρανῷ ταῦρος, ἄρκτων τε, ὁποῖαι ἐκεῖ ὁρῶνται. Atlas, globe, and Sun, will together form a tall statue; possibly only the torso of Atlas carried the globe, with a triumphant gilded Sun on top of it. Then the lower half of the globe could be shaded, with a moon and stars, dripping rain. The whole figure may have crowned the tympanum (this is more likely than that it is placed on the temple frieze, as Shey 150 quoted above supposes), or it may have stood on the firm ground in front of the entrance. The latter position would have given due emphasis to the Sun's statue. Several kneeling figures of Atlas, although in most cases with the globe lost, are listed in J. Arce and L.J. Balmaseda in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC) III, 9ff. (ill. 32ff.)

410 tumens used of water, as in VF 5.521 *tumet unda, Aen.* 7.810f. *vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti/ ferret iter.*

infringitur unda Atlas up to his knees or thighs in water is perhaps a dramatic exaggeration of the man-mountain flanking the Mediterranean Sea, probably represented by a few waves; the expression may have been inspired by *Aen.* 4.249 *vento pulsatur et imbri.* For the sculpture it would make the figure of Atlas lower and visually less dominant.

411 medii enallage for *media per terga senis.*

senis cf. *Aen.* 4.250f. *tum flumina mento/ praecipitant senis.*

ipse Sol. Schenkl 348, ingeniously but unneccessarily, supposes that *at* had replaced *sol,* with *vel* as an intermediary.

412 curvoque diem subtexit Olympo cf. Luc. 4.104 *nox subtexta polo,* Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.127 *cum grave nocturna caelum subtexitur umbra, Theb.* 2.527 *(nox) coeperat umenti Phoebum subtexere palla,* Ov. *Met.* 14.368 *et patrio capiti* (Circe's father the Sun) *bibulas subtexere nubes,* Sen. *Phaedr.* 955f. *nunc atra . . . nubila . . ./ subtexere noctem.* The combination of *dies* with *subtexere* seems to be VF's own innovation. – The sudden perfect tense of *subtexit* has been explained by Köstlin 1889:663 as follows:

"denn will man Bilder schildern, so darf das Perfect nur dann gebraucht werden wenn der Dichter das *erzählt* was man auf dem Bilde *nicht* sieht" (that is, the result of the action is shown, not the action itself).

Olympo cf. 1 n.

413 rota breviore soror the moon, with a smaller orb. *rota* is explained by Langen as a singular for plural (of which he gives several examples *ad* 3.128); however, it seems to refer simply to the disc of the Moon rather than to the wheels of her chariot (as in Sil. 4.481 *fraternis afflata rotis*, spoken of Cynthia's brother the Sun). *rota* is used for the disc of the sun in VF 3.559 *rota candida Phoebi*, Lucr. 5.564f. *nec nimio solis maior rota nec minor ardor/ esse potest*, or Lucr. 5.432 *solis rota*, as in Cic. *Arat.* 281; cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 91 τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ, or *Pers.* 504, Soph. *Antig.* 416 λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος, Arat. *Phaen.* 823. For *brevis* as 'small' cf. *breve pondus* Hor. *S.* 2.2.37.

densae in 2.367 *densus* is used of the Moon (*Lunam . . . densam videt*), apparently meaning that its gloss is hidden in mists (cf. Poortvliet *ad loc.*); this could apply to the Pleiads in that these announced the rainy Mediterranean winter season. On the other hand the more obvious sense of 'dense' would suit the cluster of six stars very well, and since on the globe of Atlas space is at premium, I feel 'dense' is the interpretation required, as in *stellis . . . densis*, Cic. *Arat.* 9; cf. *condensae* of pigeons (πελειάδες), *Aen.* 2.517.

414 Pliades on Pleiads see 46 n. If the interpretation is that VF speaks of 'wet' Pleiads (see next note), cf. *Aen.* 1.744 = 3.516 *pluviasque Hyadas*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.120 *cum Taurum aut Pleiadas hausit aquosas*, *Silv.* 3.2.76 *nubila Plias*, Luc. 8.852 *imbrifera siccas sub Pliade Thebas*, Claud. 8(*IV cos. Hon.*).437f. *madidaque cadente/ Pleiade.* Pleiads and Hyads are combined in VF 2.67. *Pleiones Hyadumque locos.*

rorantes . . . ignes *imbres* Heinsius,[44] printed by Schenkl, Baehrens, Bury, Courtney. *rorare* can be used transitively: Ov. *Fast.* 4.728 *udaque roratas laurea misit aquas*, Q.Cic. *Poet.* 13 (fragm. Morel 79) *quem sequitur nebulas rorans liquor altus Aquari*, so *rorantes* **imbres** would be a fair description of the Pleiads. Another interpretation however of *madidis rorantes crinibus ignes* is '(Pleiads dense and) with sparks in the dew-drops in their wet hairs'. *rorantes ignes* could then

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[44] *fide* Courtney *ad* Ov. *Met.* 10.508.

stand, in view of Claud. 22(*II cos. Stil.*).467 *croceis rorantes ignibus hortos/ ingreditur.*

Contino 18f. corrected Merone 18f. noticing the unusual combination of *rorare* with an object and took *rorantes* as intransitive; the analogy with 176 *rorantes imbribus auras* makes one suspect that *rorantes* is attribute with *ignes. ignes* (stars) *rorantes* would then be an oxymoron. 'Dripping stars' could also refer to the *Hyades* (Köstlin 1879:57), linked with the Pleiads in 2.67, or Verg. *G.* 1.138, after Hom. *Il.* 18.486; the Hyads, 'Rainers', are the stars of the constellation Taurus around Aldebaran, and close to the Pleiads, so that their prognostic value is more or less the same. *et ignes*, then, is equivalent to 'as well as the surrounding stars'. In Stat. *Theb.* 3.2 *umentibus astris* probably speaks of wet stars because the night is long and wet.

If I try to visualize the statue of Atlas with a globe and certain figures in gold, the route along which the Sun's chariot is moving (the Zodiac) should have central importance (*altus*), which can only mean that the Sun has been riding upwards in the morning, while the (crescent) Moon and the Pleiads have *set* in the early evening, and are now behind his back but invisible during the day! Accordingly, the fact that the Pleiads or other stars came up wet from the sea cannot play a rôle, so they must be considered as having brought rains. 'The fires have their tresses wet from the rains they sprinkle around' would be my paraphrase. The *rorantes ignes* may be a further qualification of *densae Pliades*, or refer to the Hyads. It is very apparent that VF had not a real piece of sculpture before his eyes; artists of the period are likely to have preferred a balance between the Sun on the one hand and on the other a waning moon heralding sunrise in the late night (with Pleiads that after most of a night might be dry again). The firmament depicted is not a November sky (cf. 46 n.). – To speak of 'hairs' in relation to stars is not only usual for comets; cf. 370 n. *crinita.* The words *coma* as well as *crinis* have in TLL their special section referring to stars *not* comets, *e.g.* Avien. *Arat.* 80f. *micat omnibus ignis/ et rutilo cunctis flagrat coma flammea crine.*

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415. nec minus hinc varia dux laetus imagine templi
416. ad geminas fert ora fores cunabula gentis
417. Colchidos hic ortusque tuens, ut prima Sesostris
418. intulerit rex bella Getis, ut clade suorum
419. territus hos Thebas patriumque reducat ad amnem,

420. Phasidis hos imponat agris Colchosque vocari
421. imperet.

415–454 now follows a description of the relief work on the doors of the temple. They make one think of the doors as still seen in Hildesheim, or Florence.[45] Many different opinions have been advanced on their arrangement on the doors, since VF's description is very impressionistic. The number of different scenes alone varies between 5 (Wagner), 6 (Caussin), 8 (Rossbach), 9 (Kennerknecht), 10 (Langen, 1894, supported by Giarratano XLIV, Shey), 12 (Meyncke, 1867). Only Meyncke read the story as presented on both doors from left to right in horizontal planes. The others think the left door is for the scenes in Colchis, the right door for the scenes relating to the Argonauts, and this is more logical from the point of view of a spectator. It can be questioned whether the text in fact allows one unambiguous interpretation; but if so, I feel that Rossbach's number is the one that finds the firmest support in the text.

Rossbach sees two scenes with Sesostris, one showing his setting out, one his return. I think the twofold *ut* indicates, in fact, one scene showing the Pharaoh and his long train, and war with the Getae, another below his return to the Nile while leaving settlers in Colchis. The latter are described as longing for Arsinoe and Pharos, but eventually donning trousers. Below these the two scenes depicting Aea and Phaethon are recognized by all critics.

On the right-hand door the scenes would be first the building of the Argo, with Jason and his crew ready for boarding; and the Argo floating on the waves, rowing and sailing (with in an upper corner personified Notus blowing), reaching Colchis and leaving the mouth of the Phasis again with Medea. Below the scenes are increasingly complicated; apparently the artist wished to make the future clear with as many details as he could possibly bring within his narrow limits. In Corinth Medea (the Sun's granddaughter!) is abandoned for Glauce; in a corner Medea prepares the robe steeped in venom. In the terrible last scene, flames sprout from Glauce and spread in the palace, while Medea takes off in her serpent-drawn chariot. (Rossbach proposed a separate scene just for Medea's departure from Colchis, concentrating all the Corinthian events in one last relief, which to me would seem overcrowded.)

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[45] Compare descriptions of doors above *ad* 399–454; in addition Ov. *Fast.* 5.561ff. *perspicit in foribus . . . tela . . . / armaque . . . / hinc videt Aenean . . . / hinc videt Iliaden. . . .*

Such an arrangement would allow one to mark horizontal correspondences as follows: in both upper ones the hopeful start of an expedition; in the second row travel impressions with Colchis in an important position; in the third row emotions clouding the hitherto optimistic sequence, love resulting in captivity or repudiation; lastly, flames and destruction spreading.

The text is remarkable for its economy of narrative, surpassing in its variation the scenes from the Trojan war in *Aen.* 1.446ff.

For the position of the Phaethon story cf. 429/432 n.

415 hinc conjecture of Heinsius for *hic*, which would combine awkwardly with the second *hic* of 417.

laetus imagine cf. *Aen.* 8.730 *imagine gaudet.* Lüthje 222 emphasizes the optimistic images up to 439; whereas from 440 onwards words like *trepidus, deserere, ultrices Dirae, donum exitiale, infelix, correpta, implicare igne* prepare the way for quite a different attitude in the audience, *odere tamen* (454). However, if the scenes are arranged as suggested above, both lower horizontal rows must be considered sad and pessimistic; and, in fact, from 425 onwards we meet already with *pavidus, turbata metu, victam, flere, ater globus, formidans, dolores.* Jason will look at the stories on *both* doors at the start *laetus*, the Argonauts will end in horror ('*odere*'), albeit that Phaethon's fall is a thing of the past, Medea's vengeance a prophecy.

416 fert ora 'bringing his face close to the objects'. Different expressions with *ferre* and a part of the human body are listed in TLL 6.1.542.41ff., where a similar list of Langen *ad* VF 2.282 is acknowledged; examples of the present combination are *Aen.* 8.229 *lustrans hic ora ferebat et illuc*, 2.570 *oculos . . . ferenti.* Different are Stat. *Theb.* 1.641 *comminus ora ferens*, 'he had the same expression in eyes, hands, face' in *Aen.* 3.490 *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat* or literally 'bringing his head back' in VF 4.241f. *(haud) orave matri/ nota feres.*

cunabula gentis (ortusque) hendiadys; cf. 396 n. For the words cf. *Aen.* 3.105 *gentis cunabula nostrae.*

417/418 the first scene: Sesostris sets out and wages war in Europe against the Getae in the Balkans.

417 Sesostris Sesostris was the name of a small number of kings of the XIIth Dynasty in Egypt (ca. 1991–1785 BC). To a king Sesostris was ascribed a campaign through Anatolia into Europe; Herod. 2.102

speaks of him as the author of several stelae as found in Anatolia and Greece, and the campaign is mentioned by Diod. Sicul. 1.53, Strabo 16.4.4 = C769. Among the feats of Sesostris in ARh 4.272 (the Scholiast gives the king's name), one is to have founded the Colchian nation; cf. Herod. 2.103 τινες στρατιωτέων . . . περὶ Φασιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν, 104 φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι. He had heard this in Colchis as well as in Egypt; notably he supports the notion on the basis of circumcision practised in both countries; moreover, both use linen. Other possible explanations are on the one hand stelae in Greece and Anatolia with a kind of hieroglyphics that antiquity could not help ascribing to Egyptian culture, on the other that Sesostris I erected obelisks in *Helio*polis (one obelisk is still extant, on which the Pharaoh is called son of the Sun), linking that king with Aeetes's father; Herod. 2.111 ascribes the monument to Sesostris's son. In ARh 4.257f. Argus claims to have knowledge of the ways of the Danube as part of Egyptian lore, υἱωνοί τε/ τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ὅσγε καθίσσατο ναιέμεν Αἶαν (277f.).

418/423 Sesostris withdraws to hot Egypt, leaving part of his soldiery in Colchis.

418 Getis a nomadic Thracian people on both banks of the Danube, well known from Ovid's sad stay in Tomi; as such Mars's own people (cf. 5.618 *Geticis veniens Gradivus ab antris*).

419 hos (. . . hos) infrequently for classical *illos . . . hos*, a post-classical phenomenon (Sz. 181, K/S 2.70; cf. *e.g.* Verg. *Ecl.* 4.56, *Aen.* 12.510f. and from VF 4.284f. (about Pollux and Amycus) *hunc pudor, hunc noto iam spes audentior hoste/ instimulat*, and 4.683f. *hunc nata coercet,/ hunc coniunx Iovis* (two different *scopuli*).

Thebas the important capital of the Egyptian Middle and New Kingdoms; cf. *Il.* 9.381f. (and *Od.* 4.126f.) Θήβας/ Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται.

420 imponat 'places in command' (OLD 10, over the colonists).

vocari here of a people settling into a new fatherland; VF follows the example of Vergil, who makes the Trojans blend with the Latians in *Aen.* 12.824 (Juno to Jupiter) *neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari/ aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem* (cf. 423 *permutant carbasa bracis*).

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421. Arsinoen illi tepidaeque requirunt
422. otia laeta Phari pinguemque sine imbribus annum
423. et iam Sarmaticis permutant carbasa bracis.

421 Arsinoen Greek town near Krokodeilonpolis near the Fayum depression in Middle-Egypt. Commentators object to the anachronism, as Arsinoe was not founded before Hellenistic times; as such it is on a par with the *Lagea novalia* linked with Thebes in 6.118. On the other hand the same artist Mulciber at work will present several prophetic scenes a little later.

illi . . . requirunt this can refer to the Colchians, against J.A. Wagner who identified *illi* with the Egyptians and then had to change *et* (423) to *hi* (the Colchians). On his view *requirunt* would stand for 'seek once more' (Mozley). Of all recent editors only Kramer, Courtney, and Ehlers retain *et. illi* takes up *Colchos*; *ille* is used for a change of subject and Topic and for marking contrast. The emphasis on the Colchians quite suits the situation, and *requirunt* can interpreted as 'they look for', **'miss'**, as in Lucr. 3.919f. *nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit/ cum pariter mens et corpus sopita quiescunt*, Verg. *G.* 3.70 *ne post amissa requiras*, Ov. *Met.* 7.515 *multos tamen inde requiro/ quos quondam vidi*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.5 *fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent.*

tepidae for *tepidus* applied to a geographical entity cf. Luc. 4.405 *et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit Iader.*

422 otia laeta the Egyptians let the river work for them, fertilizing the fields.

Pharos feminine gender, as becomes the small island that it originally was before being linked to the mainland by a dam.

pinguemque sine imbribus annum cf. (for the final words) Luc. 3.70 *effusis magnum Libye tulit imbribus annum.* Egypt has its Nile, but the North African countries are dependent on rains. For *pinquis annus* cf. (Langen) Ov. *Am.* 3.10.37 *fecundo fertilis anno*, Prop. 4.8.14 *fertilis annus erit.*

423 Sarmaticis . . . bracis in present day Ukraine; cf. Mela 1.19 *ab ea (= Gallia) Germani ad Sarmatias porrigunt, illi ad Asiam*; Plin. *Nat.* 4.80. *Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae*, ARh 3.352f. ἐμέθεν μέγα δυσμενέοντας/ Σαυρομάτας; on the trousers Luc. 1.430 *et qui te laxis imitatur, Sarmata, bracis*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.6.47 *vulgus adest Scythicum bracataque turba Getarum.* Hipp. *Aer.* 22 says of the Scythians that they εὐνουχοειδέστατοί

εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων διὰ ταύτας τε τὰς προφάσιας καὶ ὅτι ἀναξυρίδας (trousers) ἔχουσιν αἰεὶ καὶ εἰσιν ἐπι τῶν ἵππων τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου.

carbasa 'linen clothes'; in as much as they *change* these for trousers, the story differs from Herod. 2.105, where Colchians and Egyptians are still the only peoples to wear linen, as confirmed in strabo 11.2.17 (= C 498).

*

424. barbarus in patriis sectatur montibus Aean
425. Phasis amore furens. pavidas iacit illa pharetras
427. virgineo turbata metu, discursibus et iam
428. deficit et volucri victam deus alligat unda.

424/428 barbarous Phasis ravishes the nymph Aea, a theme of violence. It is as if this characterization of Colchis bears witness to the cruel attitude Jason will meet with here.

424 barbarus . . . (Phasis) on the first word of a line going with the first of the next line cf. 297 n. The combination has also been used in 1.517f., where *barbarus* stands for 'barbarian' as well as for 'foreign'. In 5.522 the notion of 'barbarian' is dominant. In the present case *barbarus* obviously has connotations of 'barbarous', but in contrast with *in patriis montibus*, 'in her own home-mountains', the river seems 'foreign'. For more on *barbarus* see 522.

Aean the nymph is not known from other sources. Langen refers to Ps.Plut. *de fluviis* 5.1 (GGM 2,637) for a totally different myth about the river: Phasis, son of Sun and Ocyrrhoe, daughter of Oceanus, killed his mother, caught in flagrant adultery. Being prosecuted by the Erinyes, he flung himself into the river, which was thereafter called Phasis. In a following section 5.3, a story is told about the Caucasus, called 'marriage-bed' of Boreas, because he had ravished Chione, daughter of the river Phasis under its former name; he imprisoned her under the hill Niphates, where was born her son Hyrpax, 'who became king after Heniochus'. None of these tales seems very relevant to the Aea story. On the other hand they prove that similar myths abounded, and that VF need not have invented the present one himself.

425 pavidas iacit illa pharetras 'she throws quiverfuls <of arrows>, a deterrent to no one'. Though the arrows can be considered 'afraid', *i.e.* not effective, the expression is better interpreted as

an enallage: 'she, afraid, throws arrows around'. Personal emotions are projected upon an object. There is a precedent for 'a quiverful of' in a Greek inscription, IG 12(5) 647.28, about a prize at a contest for shooting: διδόναι δὲ τοὺς προβούλους τοῖς νικῶσιν τοξότῃ ἀνδρὶ τόξον, φαρέτραν τοξευμάτων, δευτερεῖον τόξον, . . . For *iacere sagittas* the only precedent in classical Latin (TLL 7.1.34.34) is [Tib.] 3.7 (*Paneg. Mess.*) 89f. *quis tardamve sudem melius celeremve sagittam/ iecerit. conicere sagittas* is slightly more common (*Aen.* 4.69, twice in Caesar as well twice as in Livy, TLL *s.v.*).

426 For the missing line 426 see above between 406/407.

427 virgineo turbata metu cf. 392 *virgineo cunctata metu*; the similar words, now repeated in the present horrid context of rape, make one fear the worst for Medea. In Sen. *Med.* 42 the heroine bolsters her courage in a soliloquy and speaks *pelle femineos metus*!

et iam on monosyllabic endings cf. 71 n.

428 volucri . . . alligat unda following, with a characteristic change of 'slow' to 'fast', Verg. *G.* 4.479f. *Cocyti tardaque palus inamabilis unda/ alligat*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.8f. *Geryonen Tityonque tristi/ compescit unda.*

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429. flebant populeae iuvenem Phaethonta sorores
430. ater et Eridani trepidum globus ibat in amnem.
431. at iuga vix Tethys sparsumque recolligit axem
432. et formidantem patrios Pyroenta dolores.

429/432 Phaethon falls into the Eridanus, Tethys collects the remains. Phaethon is appropriate in the Sun's temple. His theme, one of ὕβρις, may point forward to the sinister sequel of the Quest, as described in 442–454. – The scene marks the dividing point of a Golden Section and may as such have particular relevance; the number of lines after the scene and before it give a ratio of 263/428 = 0.6145, close to the expected 0.618. This significant position may reveal the author's view of Jason's efforts. Though he was helped by Juno, Pallas and witchcraft, his passion for Glauce, be it for her own sake or merely for her as the King's daughter, will bring him down; he had reached too high. – The name Phaethon (not the story) occurs in ARh 3.245 (quoted in 457 n.).

429 flebant a bisyllabic word of spondaic metre opening the line,

unusual but here highly expressive, to paint the sad mood; cf. 53 n. The first of several imperfects representing what is seen, in the same way as in the temple in Carthage, *Aen.* 1.466–493 or on the shield of Aeneas, *Aen.* 8.639–658.

populeae . . . sorores cf. *Aen.* 10.189ff. *namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati/ populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum/ dum canit . . .*, Plin. *Nat.* 37.31 *Phaethontis fulmine icti sorores luctu mutatus in arbores populos (iuxta Eridanum amnem, quem Padum vocavimus) . . . plurimi poetae dixere.* Phaethon landed in the river *Eridanus*, later identified with the Po; the latter is called *populifer Padus* in Ov. *Am.* 2.17.32. Ovid *Met.* 2 tells the story, but does not use the word *populeus*. Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 12.413f. *Phaethonta sorores/ fumantem lavere Pado.*

Phaethonta on the history of Phaethon see Bömer 1.220 *ad* Ov. *Met.* 1.747.

430 trepidum . . . in amnem personification; cf., from the same story, Ov. *Met.* 2.254 *Nilus perterritus (occuluitque caput).*

ater globus the charred remains of the chariot (*iuga, axem*, 431) and the corpse, struck by lightning, fall into the river; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.324 *excipit Eridanus fumantiaque abluit ora.* There are a few instances of *ater globus* with *nubila* (TLL 6.2.2057.30); nearest to the present use comes (without *ater*) VF 6.380f. *telorum immanis . . ./ it globus.*

431 Tethys for the sea, as often in silver Latin, *e.g.* Sen. *Her.O.* 1902 *audiat ictus utraque Tethys*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.388 *claustra novissima rubrae/ Tethyos.*

iuga . . . sparsumque recolligit axem (et . . . Pyroenta) the polysyndeton paints the scattering of the parts: the yoke, the axle (the chariot), as well as the horse(s). The choice of *recolligere* is unfortunate in view of the fact that in contrast with the parts of the chariot the (immortal) horses are not passively collected, but presumably swimming and snorting.

432 formidantem . . . dolores 'in fear for <future> griefs/pains caused by the father'; after the grief the Sun's anger may break out against the horses, because Phaethon's inability to handle the horses was the cause of his elimination by a thunderbolt. Claud. 8(*IV cos. Hon.*).65ff. describes the Sun checking the horses again, *solito cum murmure torvis/ Sol occurrit equis; qui postquam rursus eriles/ agnovere sonos, rediit meliore magistro/ machina concentusque poli, currusque recepit/ imperium.*

In that version the chariot remained unharmed, which is more logical, since probably the sun rose normally the next day.

Pyroenta one of the four horses ('Fire-coloured') of the Sun as mentioned in Ov. *Met.* 2.153f. *interea volucres, Pyrois et Eous et Aethon,/ Solis equi, quartusque Phlegon.* Comment on the Sun's horses in Bömer *ad loc.* Here possibly the one name represents all four horses. – Claudian borrows the names Aethon and Pyrois for two *Amores,* the first shooting Palladius, the other fair-coloured (127) Celerina (*Carm. min.* 25.140f.).

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433. aurea quin etiam praesaga Mulciber arte
434. vellera venturosque olim caelarat Achivos.
435. texitur Argea pinus Pagasaea securi.
437. ipse subit nudaque vocat dux agmina dextra.
436. iamque eadem remos, eadem dea flectit habenas.

433/437 (without 436) Argus builds the Argo, manned by Pallas and the Argonauts.

433 praesaga the device of figures showing the beholder himself was known from *Aen.* 1.488 *se quoque . . . agnovit.* In VF 1.144 Peleus and Aeson appear on the hull of the Argo. However, for a picture showing the future (*olim venturos Achivos*) the shield of Aeneas is the model, *Aen.* 8.626–731; cf. 627f. quoted below.

Mulciber a name of long standing in Latin; cf. Pl. *Epid.* 34, Acc. Tag. R558 = W562, Macr. *Sat.* 6.5.2 *Mulciber est Vulcanus.* Already in Homer Hephaestus has constructed the doors and statues of Alcinous's palace (*Od.* 7.92); τεχνήεις Ἥφαιστος had also created the wondrous fountain and fiery bulls in ARh 3.229. Hunter comments that the god of Fire is quite in place in the palace of the Sun. In fact Mulciber made the scenes on the Sun's palace doors in Ovid. *Met.* 2.5. And he is the maker of the shield of Aeneas in *Aen.* 8.627f. *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi/ fecerat Ignipotens.* – Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 7.61f. *talem divina Mulciber arte/ ediderat* on Mars's palace, and the quotation in the next note.

434 caelarat cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.100f. *mille intus simulacra dei caelaverat ardens/ Mulciber* (in the home of Somnus).

435 texitur not unusual of a ship, as in Enn. *scen.* 66 *mari magno classis cita texitur, Aen.* 11.326 *bis denas Italo texamus robore navis,* Ov. *Ep.*

16.112 *texitur et costis panda carina suis*, or, of another big construction, the Wooden Horse, *Aen.* 2.186 *roboribus textis.*

Argea . . . securi 'the axe of Argus'. The reading of the Mss. *Argoa* is likely to have occurred through a scribe carelessly combining '*Argoa pinus*', because the Pagasean ship can, where necessary, be called 'the ship Argo' (cf. *Culex* 137 *Argoae navi*); however, the axe is handled by the carpenter Argus (ARh 1.1119, VF 1.477). TLL 2.537.6 distinguishes a special and unique class for present *Argous*, referring to the Argonauts; the very lack of parallels pleads strongly against such a concept. It seems incredible that *Argea* was not proposed until 1955, Shackleton Bailey, supported by Courtney and Ehlers.

pinus more on the πεύκη (Eur. *Med.* 4) in Jocelyn.[46]

Pagasaea cf. 191 n.

securi cf. VF 1.94f. *(Tritonia Argum) iubet . . . demittere ferro/ robora*, as well as Ennius quoted in the footnote below.

437/436 The line 437 was first transposed by Langen one position upwards, that is, before 436. This must be considered in relation to the decision whether to read *ipsa* or *ipse* in 437. *ipsa*, without transposition, is read in **V** and **L**, and printed by Thilo, Baehrens, Bury, Giarratano, Kramer, and Ehlers. *ipse*, without transposition, was printed by Schenkl, although Schenkl 324 classifies *ipse* under the 'queer conjectures' of Carrio (who did *not* find it in his codex). Courtney, in the wake of Hudson-Williams 62, printed *ipsa* followed by the transposition; Langen and Mozley printed *ipse*, followed by the transposition. Hudson-Williams had referred to *Aen.* 12.471 *ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas* (Juturna taking over the reins of Turnus's chariot).

The problem is that in the Mss. version, the ship would be sailing *before* Pallas has entered. Ehlers, though he saw quite well the logical difficulty, found a way out by assuming that the *habenae* do not here refer to the 'control' of the ship (when it is going along), but to the tackle. However, his interpretation of *habenae* cannot stand, because only in the following two instances can *habenae* possibly be applied to the ship's ropes: *Aen.* 6.1 *classique immittit habenas*, VF 4.679 *sed neque*

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[46] H.D. Jocelyn, *The tragedies of Ennius*, Cambridge, 1969, 352, *ad fragm.* 208ff., = V246ff.: *utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus/ caesa accidisset abiegna ad terram trabes/ neve inde navis inchoandi exordium/ cepisset, quae nunc nominatur nomine/ Argo.* Instead of *abies*, elsewhere in Latin *pinus* is used: Catul. 64.1, Hor. *Epod.* 16.57, Prop. 3.22.14, Ov. *Am.* 2.11.2, *Met.* 1.95, *Culex* 137.

permissis iam fundere rector habenis/ vela . . . pote. To the first passage Servius comments *(ad loc.)* *'immittit habenas' aut funes per metaphoram dixit, aut Homerum secutus est, qui ait vela erigi ἐϋστρέπτοισι βοεῦσι, id est loris tortis*; as to the second, I agree with Mozley's translation 'but neither can the captain by now *give rein* and spread the sails'. TLL 6.3.2392.79ff. includes several similar examples of *habenae* that are better classified under 'control', such as Sen. *Med.* 347, VF 1.687, 8.139. Accordingly there are no grounds for changing *flectit habenas* into *nectit habenas* (Thilo). On the other hand *flectere habenas* is of common use (TLL 6.3.2394.46ff.), either literally with horses (*e.g.* Sil. 10.55 *conversis (vidi nam flectere) habenis*), or metaphorically, *e.g.* Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.37f. *deus qui flectit habenas/ orbis* (sc. Domitianus).

I feel that *flectere habenas, remos* must mean that Pallas is the overseer of the ship's navigation. Therefore, I support interchanging lines 436 and 437.

Hudson-Williams found in the word order of *Aen.* 12.471 *ipsa subit . . . flectit habenas* grounds for supporting both the transposition and the reading *ipsa.* While the word music of Vergil's line was perhaps in VF's ears, he may deliberately have made the alteration to *ipse,* in view of the many examples of similar subtle variation. Now in 1.94ff. it is Pallas who orders Argus to build the ship, going along with him into the woods; but in the meantime, *Iuno* is the one who *per urbes spargit . . . iam stare ratem remisque poscere quos revehat* (cf. 4.542f.). So the person who *herself* calls the troops cannot be the *dea* Pallas. A change of subject – *ipsa* doing the one thing, *dux* the other – would seem awkward, in particular because *dux* is quite often applied to Jason. (The least Ehlers could have done would have been to print a colon between *subit* and *nudaque vocat dux,* to make clear that *dux* refers to Jason.)

Therefore I propose to print *ipse . . . dux* and to read with Langen the order 435 – 437 – 436. Thus the three one line phrases depict three (sub-)scenes: the Argo is built, Jason convenes the Argonauts, Pallas supervises both rowing and sailing.

437 nuda . . . dextra that is, the hand is unarmed, they are invited, not forced, to come; cf. Lucr. 5.1291f. *nam facile ollis/ omnia cedebant armatis nuda et inerma,* Sen. *Phaedr.* 519f. *quam iuvat nuda manu/ captasse fontem* ('without a cup'), Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.42 *ut athletae ponderibus plumbeis adsuefaciunt manus, quibus vacuis et nudis in certamine utendum est,* Tac. *Ann.* 16.9 *nec omisit Silanus obniti et intendere ictus quantum manibus nudis valebat* (against armed soldiers).

vocat agmina cf. *Aen.* 8.696 *regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro.*

436/441 (without 437) Pallas supervises rowing and navigation, crossing the open sea, with Orpheus singing. To the right, some Colchians marvel at the arrival of the first ship, while Medea runs to it leaving her parents behind.

436 The words *flectit habenas* occur also in *Aen.* 12.471 quoted above.

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438. exoritur Notus et toto ratis una profundo
439. cernitur, Odrysio gaudebant carmine phocae.
440. apparent trepidi per Phasidis ostia Colchi
441. clamantemque procul linquens regina parentem.

438 Notus the same wind as in 73; apparently considered by the author the wind needed to sail to Colchis.

toto *toto* (438) and *per* (440) both come from Carrio's *vet. codex*, of which the second was, for once, not conjectured earlier by Renaissance scholars; both may be authentic readings. There is a fine contrast between *toto* and *una*; on the whole sea there is only one ship, the first!

439 Odrysio 'Thracian', for Orpheus; cf. 99 n. Orpheus sings in VF 1.277–293 and in 5.98–100, after the example of ARh 1.569ff. (see next note). The most poetical description is found in Stat. *Theb.* 5.340ff.

phocae Gossen, RE 1A.945, *s.v.* 'Robbe', and O. Keller, *Antike Tierwelt* 1.407 give only technical data on *phocae.* The musical animal, however, is the dolphin: Eur. *Hel.* 1454ff. χοραγὲ τῶν καλλιχόρων δελφίνων, Eur. *Electr.* 432ff. κλειναὶ νᾶες, . . . ἵν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελφὶς πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοισιν εἱλισσόμενος. Aelian. *Nat. Anim.* 12.45 states that τὸν μὲν (the dolphin) αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος, and argues ὡς εἰσι φιλῳδοὶ τε καὶ φίλαυλοι basing himself upon a hymn of thanks to Poseidon ascribed to Arion, *PMG* Page 939. 8f. φιλόμουσοι/ δελφῖνες. The locus classicus for dolphins listening to human song is Arion's story in Herodot. 1.23,24, retold in Ov. *Fast.* 2.79–118. However, the word *phoca* means 'seal', an animal giving birth and resting on land, and on the many occasions that Proteus is depicted among his *armenta* ('Monk Seals'), certainly no dolphins (*i.e.* whales) are meant. I suppose that zoological accuracy was not the

epic writer's strongest point. *delphines* and *phocae* are several times mentioned together; possibly that was the cause of their being confused. – In ARh 1.569ff. Orpheus sings on the first trip of the Argo and τοὶ δὲ βαθείης/ ἰχθύες ἀίσσοντες ὕπερθ' ἁλὸς... ἕποντο, implying the leaps characteristic of dolphins.

440 apparent the word begins a line 6 times in the *Aeneid*, once more in VF, 4.412.

trepidi they behold the first ship!, and have been warned by portents (259ff.).

per see 438 n.

441 clamamtemque procul cf. 1.255f. *Chiron,/ clamantemque procul ostendebat Achillen.* A significant repeat, because it is another case of the farewell of a father; there it is the father taking leave, here the daughter.

linquens for the verb cf. 230 n. For the theme cf. 7.231 (Venus to Medea) *fas et tibi linquere Colchos.* Compare the description in 8.134–174. The separation from her father was announced in the dream 336–338.

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442. urbs erat hinc contra gemino circumflua ponto,
443. ludus ubi et cantus taedaeque in nocte iugales
444. regalique toro laetus gener; ille priorem
445. deserit: ultrices spectant a culmine Dirae.

442–448 in Corinth there is song and dance at a marriage: Medea is deserted for Jason's new wife, but prepares to send a deadly gown and crown.

442–444 *urbs erat...* brings to mind Hom. *Il.* 18. 490ff. ἐν δὲ δύω ποίησε πόλεις... καλάς, in the description of the shield of Achilles. There two cities are contrasted; in the first there is merrymaking, singing, dancing, marrying, νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων δαίδων ὕπο λαμπομενάων/ ἠγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει·/ κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον.

442 contra cf. *Aen.* 8.711, where in the description of the shield *contra* marks a new scene.

circumflua ponto ending the line also in Luc. 4.407, Sil. 1.289, Claud. Rapt. 2.35, Sidon. *Carm.* 2.46. The word *circumfluus* is

more often applied to islands (literally surrounded by water); to peninsulae in Sidon. *Carm.* 2.46 (Constantinople), Sil. 15.221 (Nova Carthago), to Mesopotamia in Tac. *Ann.* 6.37.3 (data from TLL 3.1145.44ff.).

gemino ponto on the conventional formula 'city of the twin seas' for Corinth cf. Tarrant *ad* Sen. *Ag.* 563; compare further *e.g.* Ov. *Ep.* 12.103f. (Medea to Jason!) *ubi erat tibi regia coniunx/ quique maris gemini distinet Isthmus aquas?*, Luc. 1.101 *geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos*, Claud. 18 (*Eutr.1*). 90 *iuvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais/ e gemino ditata mari.* – On the whole scene in Corinth cf. Sen. *Med.* 44f. *quodcumque vidit Pontus aut Phasis nefas/ videbit Isthmos.*

443 ludus et cantus *cantus* is a conjecture of Pius for the impossible *extantus* **V** and **L**; Carrio printed *est tantus.* For the content compare the Homeric model as quoted in 442–444 n.

taedae iugales cf. Catul. 64.302 *nec Thetidis taedas voluit celebrare iugalis*, followed by Ovid (4 times), and only a few others (TLL 7.2.624.18ff.). VF has 1.226 *cerno et thalamos ardere iugales* (*sacer* Mopsus speaking); cf. 2.344f. *quaecumque faces timuisse iugales/ credita*, 8.222 *promissamque fidem thalami foedusque iugale.*

444 regalique toro the royal conjugal union; cf. 460 n., the reason for abandoning Medea.

gener Creon, king of Corinth, will give his daughter as wife to Jason, who repudiates Medea. As the name of the daughter, unnamed by Euripides, Paus. 2.3.6 gives Glauce, but *Creusa*, used by Ovid (*Ars* 335, *Ep.* 12.53f.) and Seneca, has better authority (RE 7.1395 s.v. *Glauke*(5)).

priorem his first spouse, Medea.

445 ultrices spectant a culmine Dirae cf. *Aen.* 4.473 *ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae*, where another case of parricide (Orestes) is involved; since the whole theme of Medea abandoned is influenced by book 4 of the *Aeneid*, there may also be influence of *Aen.* 4.168 *ulularunt vertice Nymphae.*

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446. deficit in thalamis turbataque paelice coniunx
447. pallam et gemmiferae donum exitiale coronae
448. apparat ante omnes secum dequesta labores.
449. munere quo patrias paelex ornatur ad aras

450. infelix et iam rutilis correpta venenis
451. implicat igne domos.

446 deficit 'has no more energy' (as in 428); cf., *e.g.* Ov. *Met.* 10.56 *hic, ne deficeret* (Euridice) *metuens*, *Aen.* 4.689.

paelice compare 449 *paelex*, 'concubine'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.65f. *dominaeque tradi/ barbarae paelex*, Plin. 2.235 *ita fertur a Medea paelicem crematam, postquam sacrificatura ad aras accesserat, corona igne rapto.* The expression presents the situation from Medea's standpoint, or, for that matter, the point of view of the Colchians, because Medea is called *coniunx*. In Jason's view (cf. Eurip. *Med.* 18–20) *Medea* is the *paelex*, because she is non-Greek, and not a legal spouse. The compassion of the narrator, however, comes out in 450, where the *paelex* is called *infelix* (used 'in its Vergilian sense', Shelton 306). – Similarly in Nemes. *Cyn.* 17, Juno (!) is called *paelex* in a sympathetic description of Semele's doom.

447 gemmiferae said of the sea, or rivers, only in a few cases of textiles: Sen. *Her.O.* 661f. *nec gemmiferas detrahit aures/ lapis Eoa lectus in unda*, Sil. 15.694 *gemmiferi spolium cultus*, Claud. 1(*Prob. Olybr.*).265 *gemmiferis ... mensis* (laid by the Nymphs), Sidon. *Carm.* 2.326 (referring to the goddess Oenotria) *pendula gemmiferae mordebant suppara bullae* (TLL 6.2.1759.26ff.). On the *gemmae* cf. next n.

coronae cf. Eur. *Med.* 1160 χρυσοῦν τε θεῖσα στέφανον, 1192f. ῥῖψαι θέλουσα στέφανον ἀλλ' ἀραρότως/ σύνδεσμα χρυσὸς εἶχε. On the *palla* cf. 1159 λαβοῦσα πέπλος ποικίλους ἠμπέσχετο. More data in Langen *ad loc.* The crown is a gift of Venus to Medea at her marriage; VF 8.235f. *Cytherea coronam/ donat et arsuras alia cum virgine gemmas.*

donum exitiale after *Aen.* 2.31 *donum exitiale Minervae*, the Wooden Horse.

exitiale 'Lucretian; once in Cic. and Livy, several times in Plin. Mai., otherwise mainly poetic, not in Tacitus' (Austin *ad loc.*).

448 ante adverb, with *dequesta. ante omnes* occurs in 3.691, as it does 12 times in Vergil.

dequesta TLL 5.1.625.80ff. mentions only four occurrences, also Stat. *Theb.* 1.404 *similesque notos dequestus et imbres*, 11.627 *talia dequestus*, Sidon. *Ep.* 9.9.1 *longum tacere nos in commune dequestus es.* The verb is possibly coined by VF.

449–454 the poor *paelex* ends her life in flames, involving the palace in her ruin; Medea takes off in her dragon-drawn chariot.

449 paelex in 7.236 'Circe' (Venus) warns Medea that if she should marry a native, she would have to cope with other women, *saevo coniunx non una Gelono*; the irony is that by following Jason she will meet the same fate. Compare also 446 n.

450 rutilis correpta venenis 'ignited by fiery chemicals (she involves her house in the flames)'; on a list of these in Sen. *Med.* 705ff., 740ff., one is centaur-blood (from Nessus, 775f.). *rutilis* is a word for flaming red, Sil. 1.577 *rutilus . . . sonipes*, 'a bay horse'; and 'red-hot' as here and VF 7.647 *rutilique a fulminis aestu* ('from the red-hot furnace where the thunderbolts are forged').

451 implicat igne cf. with *ignem* figuratively in *Aen.* 7.355 (hate), 1.660 (love).

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451. haec tum miracula Colchis
452. struxerat Ignipotens nondum noscentibus, ille
453. quis labor, aligeris aut quae secet anguibus auras
454. caede madens. odere tamen visusque reflectunt.

451–454 a final reflection, in the style of the last three lines of the shield's description, *Aen.* 8.729–731. However, in contrast to the unalloyed optimism in Vergil, in line 454 suddenly there is a change from *laetus* (415) to *odere tamen.* The *Argonautica* may have as its outer theme the triumph of mankind over the sea; but the second, more romantic motif, going east to lay hands upon a treasure and a bride, gives the tragic undertone, in view of Jason claiming that he prefers to get the Fleece by persuasion, and not at the costs of bloodshed and a promise of marriage to a sorceress.

451 miracula in combination with *nondum noscentibus*, the words are reminiscent of *Aen.* 8.730 *miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet.*

452 struxerat Ignipotens cf. 8.628 *fecerat Ignipotens*, *Aen.* 12.90f. *ensem . . . deus ignipotens ipse parenti/ fecerat*, and 433 n. *Mulciber.*

Ignipotens TLL 7.1.288.35 six times in Vergil, very occasionally afterwards, in VF also in 2.80, where compare Poortvliet; see Norden *ad Aen.* 6.141, who plausibly supposes the word to be of Ennian origin. For the ending *-potens* cf. 17 n.

noscentibus Heinsius conjectured *agnoscentibus*, 'not yet acknowledging these as true'. VF should perhaps have used this

word had he thought of it, because *noscentibus* Mss. is plainer.

ille (quis labor) conjecture of Heinsius for *illa* Mss., followed by all editors; 'not knowing what ordeal this would be, or who cut the air . . .'. For *quis* cf. 139 n.

453 aligeris . . . quae (♀) secet anguibus auras Frank, in her search of support for Schetters's theory of two corresponding halves, lists correspondences between book 1 and book 5: Orpheus sings, a list of pictures is described, these words are repeated from 1.224f. (see next n.). Pliny *NH* 12.85 remarks sceptically: *fabulose narravit antiquitas: . . . aligerisque serpentibus – his commentis augentes rerum pretia.* – *aligeri . . . dracones* occur in 7.120 in connection with Circe's winged serpent-drawn chariot. At the end of the tragedy Medea takes off in her dragon-drawn chariot, Eur. *Med.* 1321 τοίον δ' ὄχημα πατρὸς Ἥλιος πατὴρ/ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν. (On the chariot of Ceres, VF 1.68f., cf. Bömer *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 4.497.)

454 caede madens from the murder of her children; the same words in 1.224f. *quaenam aligeris secat anguibus auras/ caede madens* (the vision of Mopsus). The expression goes back to Ovid; for several parallels cf. Poortvliet 164, who also compares . . . *sanguine madere* (thrice in VF).

odere tamen visusque reflectunt for this use of *reflectere* cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.341 *oculosque reflectunt.* – I think this fine extension of the topos of Seeing Oneself (in Art) into Seeing Oneself in the Future reveals the great psychologist in VF. As the subject of *odere* I think it best not to think of the Colchians just mentioned (451), who quite obviously do not understand a thing of what they see; the expression gets more point if it is the Argonauts having inspected the sculpture, and at the end being quite at a loss. They see truth before their eyes, yet feel unable to grasp its significance; mankind prefers to play the ostrich when confronted with the revolting. VF at his best.

F. *455–617. Aeetes*

Aeetes and his retinue enter. Jason leaps forward from the cloud, and makes his petition for the Fleece, claiming kinship to Phrixus. Aeetes hides his bitter feelings and asks Jason kindly to join his side in the war. The Minyans are invited to the city; at a banquet at the eve of the battle against Perses Aeetes points out his various heroes to Jason. I repeat that line 455 divides the second section of the book

into two nearly equal halves (D+E = 238 lines, F+G = 241 lines).

f1. 455–518	64	Jason adressing the king.
f2. 519–566	48	The answer.
f3. 567–617	51	At the banquet.

f1. *455–518. Jason addressing the king*

Aeetes and family, and the prime of the country, enter the Temple of the Sun. Jason comes forward and in tortuous phrases explains his mission; as a kinsman of Phrixus he claims the Fleece that Aeetes can never surrender, and offers his military assistance. This results in the fight with Perses described in book 6 (the very man who was willing to yield the Fleece to them, as Perses states himself in 6.18; they have joined the wrong side!). – The scene is to be compared with the entry of Dido after Aeneas has similarly gazed at temple sculptures, *Aen.* 1.494–497, while Absyrtus has some traits of Lausus (*Aen.* 7.647–654). In ARh it is the grandson Argos who speaks on behalf of the Argonauts (3.320–366). There only after the answer and rebuttal Jason speaks, 386–395. – Compare further Lüthje 223–226, Shelton 307–313, Adamietz 78–79.

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455. quin idem Minyas operum defixerat error,
456. cum se Sole satus patriis penetralibus infert.
457. filius hunc iuxta primis Absyrtus in annis,
458. dignus avo quemque insontem meliora manerent.

455 'Yes, the very same bewilderment based on the sculptures <seen> kept the Minyae petrified, (when. . . .)'.

quin corroborating (OLD 2), as in 4.653 *quin iterum idem aderit, credo, deus*, 7.183 *quin audeat opto.*

defixerat 'petrified', as in 4.226 *tum pavor et gelidus defixit Castora sanguis*; cf. *Aen.* 1.495 *haeret defixus in uno (= Aeneas).*

error Meyncke (1867:369), followed by Schenkl, Baehrens, Bury, Mozley, Courtney, conjectured *horror*, which would make good sense. However, Langen explained *error* as 'perplexity', 'uncertainty of mind', adducing some parallels (*e.g.* Cic. *div. Caec.* 45 *qui tibi aestus, qui error, quae tenebrae . . . erunt*), a few even with the genitive. Langen finds credit in TLL 5.2.816.25ff.

456 se Sole satus patriis penetralibus alliteration throughout.

Sole satus as in 263, 567, a grand title, here to heighten the contrast with Jason. Moreover there is a distinct reference to earlier verses in the repetition of *sole satus* (263), *patres* (269, 464), *reges* (273, 464), Albanus (258, 459). The whole rift between the two royal brothers Aeetes and Perses is implicit in those few words. In 1.505ff. father Sol has been fulminating against what he considers the theft of the Fleece.

se . . . infert cf. *Aen.* 11.36 *ut vero Aeneas foribus sese intulit altis.* For this scene, the sovereign's arrival during the study of, and fascination exerted by, a work of art, cf. *Aen.* 1.494ff. *haec dum . . . miranda videntur,/ . . ./ regina ad templum . . ./ incessit.*

457 filius hunc iuxta cf. *Aen.* 7.649 *filius huic iuxta* (*hunc* **M**[1]). TLL *s.v. iuxta* knows only of *iuxta* + acc., or, in late Latin, abl. Accordingly, emendation in Vergil to *filius hunc iuxta Lausus* may be defended. (Alternatively, *huic* could be a sympathetic dative.)

primis . . . in annis 'young', yet able to fight valiantly (6.171, 517), and to lead a flotilla of ships (8.261, 369). Similarly, in 1.22, Pelias rules Haemonia *primis . . . ab annis.* The expression *primis . . . ab annis* occurs in Vergil; cf. *Aen.* 2.87, 8.517.

Absyrtus brother of Medea, described in ARh 3.241ff. ἄλλῳ δ' Ἄψυρτος ναῖεν παίς Αἰήταο, τὸν μὲν Καυκασίη νύμφη τέκεν Ἀστερόδεια πρίν περ κουριδίην θέσθαι Εἰδυῖαν ἄκοιτιν. . . . καί μιν Κόλχων υἷες ἐπωνυμίην Φαέθοντα ἔκλεον. There are several traditions about Absyrtus' fate. ARh has him killed in an ambush by Jason (4.450ff.); similarly Hyg. *Fab.* 23. Other versions make him a boy, taken with her by Medea, who scatters his mangled parts into the sea, so as to make her pursuing father lose time in collecting these: Scholiast *ad* ARh 4.223ff. (Pherecydes), Apollod. 1.9.24, Orph. *Arg.* 1027ff., as well as Cic. *Man.* 22, Ovid *Ep.* 6.129, 12.113ff., *Tr.* 3.9.21ff., and Sen. *Med.* 131ff., 473, 963f. Soph. has him killed at home, (same scholium, frg. 319 N = 343 Radt), as has Eur. *Med.* 1334, and Callim. *frgm.* 8 Pf. VF has him pursuing Jason (8.261ff.), but finding no occasion for regular battle (8.381); in the midst of the tense the book comes to a premature end.

458 dignus cf. *Aen.* 7.653f. *dignus patriis qui laetior esset/ imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset* (Lausus), because he is *dignus avo*, not *dignus patre.* His grandfather, the Sun, is of good report, his father is not (264f.). In *dignus avo quemque insontem meliora manerent* there occurs a remarkable change of construction; the expression may be based upon the similar change from *qui esset* to *cui esset* in Vergil.

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459. tum gener Albanis Styrus qui advenerat oris,
460. distulerant sed bella toros. tum Phrontis et Argus
461. Aeolidae fraterque Melas, quos advena Phrixus
462. progenuit, pariterque levi Cytisorus in hasta.

459 gener Albanis . . . oris for *Albanus* see 258 n. The word *gener* (as in 3.497, 6.172, 269) refers to a prospective situation that has, after all, not been realized (460). For the phrase *gener Albanis . . . advenerat oris* cf. 56 n. (*Aen.* 7.270, Ov. *Met.* 9.19).

Styrus interestingly the name does *not* occur in ARh, nor elsewhere. He has been mentioned by Juno in a review of the situation (3.497); distinguishes himself in the war in 6.265f. where an adversary adresses him with the words 6.269 *invitoque gener mutabere patri*, as well as in the pursuit of Medea in book 8 (299, 329, 335), being last mentioned in 368 *et tandem virgine cessit*, 'his claim to her finds an end', which may mean that he met his death there. Since the end of the *Argonautica* is lacking, we shall never know. Styrus may pose as another Turnus because he is Jason's competitor.

qui advenerat elision of a long syllable also in 390, 490, 517, 537, 584 (Kösters 37).

460–462 The four sons of Phrixus, Cytissorus (Cytisorus in Apollod. 1.9.1), Phrontis, Melas, and Argus, are mentioned in ARh 2.1155f., where the Argonauts meet them at the Island of Ares. In VF they have no function whatever; they seem to have been added to adorn the king's glory with a few well-known names. Lüthje 224 thinks their names heighten the contrast between the all-powerful king, surrounded by the real and only heirs of Phrixus (they enter on Jason's side in ARh!), and the feeble stranger Jason, whose only trump is Juno's aid.

460 distulerant . . . toros cf. (TLL 5.1.1073.55ff.) Prop. 2.9.5 *coniugium falsa poterat differe Minerva* (about Penelope), Sen. Mai. *Con.* 8.6 *differ nuptias dum . . .*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.59 *nuptias Poppaeae ob eius modi terrores dilatas.* For *tori* for conjugal union cf. OLD 5: Ovid, Lucan, VF (5.444), Mart., Stat.

461 Aeolidae Aeolus was father to Athamas, father of Phrixus. Phrixus was *Aeolides* in 1.286. The whole family can be called *Aeolidae*; it is apposition to all four brothers.

462 in hasta *in* to describe a person's habit, as in 348 *in vittis*; cf. 1.641 *trifida Neptunus in hasta* (with Kleywegt 1989:434), Stat. *Theb.* 7.669 *occurrit in hasta* (with Smolenaars). Uses such as *Aen.* 5.37 *horridus in iaculis*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.221 *metuendus in hasta*, 3.238 *ultus in armis*, *Laus Pison.* 87 *proludit in armis*, Claud. 8(*IV cos.Hon.*).525 *cum Threicia primum sudaret in hasta*, are different, because in the latter cases there seems to be a functional relationship between *horridus* and the *iacula* (or whatever words were chosen), which is lacking in cases like VF 5.348, 5.462.

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463. post alii, quos praecipuo Titania tellus
464. legit honore patres, motique ad proelia reges.
465. admonet hic socios nebulamque erumpit Iason
466. sideris ora ferens; nova lux offusa Cytaeis.

463 Titania tellus the Titan is Hyperion, his son is the Sun (according to Hes. *Theog.* 132ff., 371ff.). *Titanius* for 'the Sun's' occurs in *Aen.* 6.725 *Titaniaque astra*, VF 4.91 For Colchis the expression is very recherché. Aeetes is *Titanius* as the grandson of Hyperion; in the same way Diana is *Titania* (Ov. *Met.* 3.173 etc.) as a granddaughter of Coeus.

praecipuo . . . (honore) cf. *Aen.* 5.249 *ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores.* **C** reads *praecipuos (i.e., patres).* The text of **V** and **L** finds support in Caes. *Gal.* 5.54.4 *quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit*; nevertheless Apul. *Plat.* 2.28 *quattuor culpabilium civium genera esse: unum eorum qui sunt honore praecipui* . . . would be a parallel for *praecipui honore patres*, unlikely though such a specification of *patres* would be.

464 legit . . . patres *legere* is the technical term for 'to appoint to membership of the senate' (OLD 6c); cf. Liv. 1.30.2 *principes Albanorum in patres legit.* Burman comments that it seems impossible that *the country* would choose its senate by ballot, and that the present text is necessarily corrupt. His proposal was to read *proles* instead of *tellus* (followed only by Langen). Yet, *elections* cannot be meant; the phrase can be read as 'those Colchis had made its senators (a point of singular distinction)'. There is a strong sense of irony in the description of these barbarian regions as having something like a *senate*! – in the vein of Vergil's treatment of the bees (*G.4*, e.g. 67–87). *tellus* can stand and the reading from **C** *patres* (instead of *patris* **V** and **L**) be supported.

honore ablative of result aimed at (Sz. 127 (h)), of the type exemplified in Ov. *Met.* 10. 494 *duratur cortice pellis*; cf. Hillen 31–38.

motique ad proelia reges *regis* **V** and **L** (Aeetes) or *reges* **C** (neighbouring kinglets, such as Perses brings along (273), of which several will be mentioned in the rest of the present book, as well as in book 6) would not make much difference, yet both have Ms. authority; *reges* brings in some new information, increases the glory of the moment, and is accordingly my preference.

465 hic 'at this moment Jason gives the sign to his comrades, and . . .': *hic* has more than just local sense, as it has in *Aen.* 10.73 *ubi hic Iuno . . .?* *iam* could have been used.

nebulamque erumpit cf. *Aen.* 1.580f. *(Achates) et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem/ ardebant.* Langen gives a list of verbs composed with *e-* all used transitively (*ad* 315), and accordingly rejects the reading of **C** *nebulaque.*

466 sideris ora *sideris* is very harsh, which made Heinsius conjecture *siderea.* However, Jason now suddenly comes into view in all his *nova lux*; as soon as he was 'perfused with youth's rosy light' (365) he was compared to *Sirius.* Probably here he still has 'a face like the star'. The case for *sidereus* can adduce several parallels for 'radiant faces', but lacks the particular point of referring to Sirius.

nova lux even in this brilliant Temple of the Sun, in the presence of the lords of Colchis, and in front of Aeetes. (Progeny of the sun could be recognized by their radiance, ARh 4.727 πᾶσα γὰρ Ἠελίου γενεὴ ἀρίδηλος ἰδέσθαι/ ἦεν, ἐπεὶ βλεφάρων ἀποτηλόθι μαρμαρυγῆσιν/ οἷόν τε χρυσέην ἀντώπιον ἵεσαν αἴγλην; for Latinus in *Aen.* 12.161ff. the same holds.) Rightly Lüthje 224 considers the influence of Juno so overwhelming, that Jason's own part is minimized. Jason still radiates *luce iuventae* (365 n.).

offusa a conjecture of Gronovius for *effusa* Mss.; cf. *Aen.* 9.110 *nova lux oculis offulsit. effusus* is used by Vergil for *imber* (*G.* 4.312), *grando* (*Aen.* 10.803); accordingly, I prefer to follow Gronovius with all recent other editors except Courtney.

Cytaeis Hunter *ad* ARh 3.228: 'Cyta was thought to be a town in Colchis (cf. modern Kutaisi in Georgia), . . ., cf. Delage', 186f. The Scholiast *ad* ARh 2.399 has Κύταια γὰρ πόλις Κολχίδος; it is also found in ARh 2.399 etc. There is also a Scythian Cytaea, often mentioned in later literature; the Colchian Cyta(ea) otherwise only in Callim. and Lycophr., as well as in the *Arg. Orph.*

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467. conveniunt †rogitant†que viros rogitantque, quid ausi
468. quidve ferant. postquam primis inhiantia dictis
469. agmina suppressumque videt iam murmur Iason
470. talia miranti propius tulit orsa tyranno:

467 The repetition of *rogitant* is suspect because one of the pair may have been a different verb in the original. In that case, however, this has been lost for ever, and cannot be reconstructed. Proposals have been *urguent* Heinsius, *pavitant* Burman, *aditant* E.C.F. Reuss, *lustrant* Thilo (followed by Schenkl), *prensant* Fr. Reuss, *stipant* Löhbach, followed by Baehrens, Langen, Bury, Giarratano, Mozley, Kramer.

In the model *Aen.* 1.595ff. Aeneas shows himself, speaks to the queen, and meets some comrades deemed lost. In the present situation, certain people may crowd around the strangers (about whom no one has spoken, in contrast to the scene at Dido's court); however, I feel it is unlikely that they would ask a host of questions. In effect the crowd is avid for Jason's first words, and they are waiting in silence. The only appropriate questions are put: 'how dare you to come here and what is your message'. In the light of this interpretation, aggressive *prensant* (or, say, *cingunt*) appears more appropriate than peaceful *stipant.* On balance it would be wise to let the obeli of Courtney and Ehlers stand and make a personal choice. – For an example of questions put to a stranger cf. *Aen.* 8.112ff.

quid ausi (sc. sint) *ausa* is used repeatedly for the whole intrepid enterprise of the heroes. But present *audere* can also refer to the bold direct approach of the king.

468 ferant *ferre* for 'to have to tell', *referre*; cf. *Aen.* 2.75 *quidve ferat* with Servius *ferat: adferat, id est nuntiet.* For *ferat* in VF see next n.

postquam . . . (videt) *postquam* followed by a historic present is used in early Latin as well as in poets, regularly only with *video* and *intellego* (Sz. 598). Also in 3.27ff. and 7.577 (*postquam videt*), 4.142f. *quid ferat admirans. postquam . . ./. . . cernit . . .* (cf. Korn *ad loc.*).

primis inhiantia dictis *inhiantia* is normally construed with a dative, and so it is here; cf. VF 2.531 *miserae inhiat . . . praedae*, *Aen.* 4.63f. *pecudumque reclusis/ pectoribus inhiant*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.12 *inhiare dominationi.*

469 suppressum (sc. esse) sc. *videt.*

470 propius tulit orsa tyranno 'he approached and addressed the tyrant'. Schenkl proposed *propior*, which does not seem sufficiently better or more poetic Latin to warrant the emendation; *properus* and *promptus* are more far-fetched. The dative may go with *tulit* as well as with *propius*. – Poortvliet (1995) has recently proposed *primus*. I feel that after *rogitant* (see my note 467) it would be inappropriate to expect anything other than that it should be Jason who now answers; the qualification *primus*, therefore, would not be relevant.

miranti apparently inspired by *miranda* (*Aen.* 1.494) or *miratur* (*Aen.* 1.456), but the word is used not of Jason admiring the sculptures (in the manner of Aeneas), but of the sovereign scrutinizing the handsome newcomer.

tulit orsa *orsa* used for 'undertakings' in 291, 195; *orsa* are often, as here, 'words' in Vergil. However, *orsa ferre* is unusual (2.243 *(quae . . .) orsa feram*). *referre orsa* occurs in, *e.g.*, *Aen.* 7.435, 11.124, *ferre dicta* in VF 4.330.

tyranno cf. 258.

*

471. 'rex Hyperionide, quem per freta tanta petendum
472. caelicolae et prima dignum statuere carina,
473. si quando hic aliquam nostro satus orbe solebat
474. Thessaliam, si quos Phrixus memorare Pelasgos,
475. hi tibi tot casus, horrenda tot avia mensi
476. cernimur. ipse egomet proprio de sanguine Phrixi:
477. namque idem Cretheus ambobus et Aeolus auctor
478. cum Iove Neptunoque et cum Salmonide nympha.

471–518 Barich 30 divides the speech, discussing its formal rhetorical structure, into *exordium* (471–478), *narratio* (479–491a), *probatio* (491b–515a), *peroratio* (515b–518). Jason manages to introduce in the first line a honorific address as well as his own origin from far away; in the second, that gods sent him and did so in a ship; in the third and fourth he stumbles over his own words (see *ad* 473ff.); in the fifth and sixth he presents himself as a kinsman of Phrixus. In 477 and 478 some arguments supporting his claim are given. In 479–481 he makes clear that his king has sent him. Thereupon the name Pelias is mentioned and Jason (who does not give his name) compared with Hercules. Only then is the Fleece requested.

Now Jason tries to make his request acceptable. The orders of

Pelias would have been an excuse for war; yet Jason comes to ask for the Fleece as an heirloom of the Greek Phrixus (the claims of Phrixus's sons are ignored in VF's version, cf. 509 n.), and his peaceful intentions are stressed in 498–500. Aeetes is flattered in the beginning, where it is emphasized that one of the aims of the expedition was behold him; again, when he is considered superior to Pelias (493); and again when the actual sight of him is mentioned (506). In exchange (*contra*, 511) for the Fleece, Jason has gifts and his military assistance (reading *dextram* in 515). Lüthje notes the cunning of the speech, with its repeatedly masking of the one and only goal, the Fleece. A last appeal to the superiority of Aeetes over Pelias closes the speech. – The whole speech has its counterpart in 7.35–77, where Aeetes replies to the *praedo* (7.50); much of Jason's speech is answered point by point.

The speech has much in common with the one of Ilioneus on behalf of the party of Aeneas in *Aen.* 7.212–248, beginning in the same way with *rex, genus egregium Fauni, nec fluctibus actos/ atra egit hiems vestris succedere terris*, parallel in first having *rex*, then the king's descent, then the purposeful, not erroneous, trip. They come from an enormous kingdom (217 *quae maxima quondam*..., cf. 483f. *sceptra maxima*); they themselves are offspring of the gods (219 *ab Iove principium*, cf. 478). The gods *caelicolae* have sent them (239). They promise their force (*dextram* 234, possibly the source for *dextram* in VF 5.515, although *Aen.* 7.266 *dextram tetigisse* (of Aeneas) may come closer). The *sive*... *seu* phrase of 235 has its counterpart in 502 *seu*... *seu*. In 234ff. Ilioneus comes with *munera* (511), specified in both speeches. Jason gives a splendid finale lacking in the *Aeneid*.

471 Hyperionide as a honorific title is a logical one for 'the (grand-)son of Hyperion' (see 463), but in Homer's time Hyperion is used as a synonym of Helios (with *Od.* 12.176 Ἠελίου τ' αὐγῇ Ὑπεριονίδαο ἄνακτος as an exception, where commentators explain Ὑπεριονίδης rather artificially as standing for Hyperion himself). In Hesiod and later, the Hesiodean genealogy with the sun as son of the Titan is generally accepted: Hes. *Theog.* 1011 Κίρκη δ', Ἠελίου θυγάτηρ Ὑπεριονίδαο, Pi. *Ol.* 7.39 φαυσίμβροτος δαίμων Ὑπεριονίδας, Nic. *Ter.* 678f. ἠελίοιο τροπαῖς ἰσώνυμον ἔρνος/ ἤ θ' Ὑπεριονίδαο παλιντρέπτοιο. See further Richardson *ad* [Hom.] *hDem.* 26. Stat. *Theb.* 12.413 calls Phaethon *Hyperionius*.

per freta tanta cf. 196, see 475 n.

472 caelicolae . . . statuere another example of gods arranging meetings on earth is found in Soph. *Electr.* 1264 τότ' εἶδες, ὅτε θεοί μ' ἐπώτρυναν μολεῖν.

prima dignum . . . carina the model was Sen. *Med.* 363 where the Fleece and Medea are called *merces prima digna carina.* So to speak, the mercantile trip is extended into tourism. There is bitter irony from the side of the author in the use of *dignus*; in 458 Absyrtus was *dignus avo* (the Sun), now his father is only *dignus prima carina.* This results in caustic sarcasm in the answer of Aeetes 7.36f. *quis furor has mediis tot fluctibus egit in oras/ quisve mei vos tantus amor?* – *prima carina* was used already in Ov. *Met.* 6.721.

473/475 'if ever that son of the same land as ours, yes, Phrixus, if he mentioned here a certain land *Thessalia* and a certain people called *Pelasgians*, then here you see them, . . .'. The obviously chaotic manner of speaking perhaps serves to hide his intentions for the moment, as he first has to establish a claim to the Fleece. (It is a technical flaw that in VF the sons of Phrixus are in a much better position to make such a claim.) For the Thessalians and the Pelasgians cf. 483 n. *Pelias.*

473 si quando as in 1.835, 7.205, 8.213, 226, Ovid (*Am.*, *Ars*), Stat. (*Silv.*, *Theb.*, *Ach.*). According to Sz. 607 unusual in the classical period, with Verg. *G.* 1.259 and Tert. *Hec.* 181 as exceptions. – I follow OLD in writing *si quando, si quos* as two words.

474 Pelasgos cf. 116.

475 tot . . ., . . . tot cf. 196 *tot freta tot dura haec referentia sidera passum.*

tot avia mensi cf. *Aen.* 5.627 *cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa/ sideraque emensae ferimur.*

476 (tibi) cernimur cf. *Aen.* 1.440 *neque cernitur ulli*, of Aeneas in the cloud. Jason has just left his (465). (When Aeneas appears, he says (*Aen.* 1.595) *coram . . . adsum*, "me voilà".)

egomet cf. 200

477 namque idem Cretheus ambobus et Aeolus auctor according to ARh 3.356ff., Aeolus begat Cretheus and Athamas, the first father of Aeson, the latter of Phrixus. Obviously, then, Cretheus and Aeolus are *not* ancestor to *both*; only Aeolus is. However, VF seems to have a different genealogy in view of 1.42 (with Langen) and 2.611 (with Poortvliet).

478 Iove with regard to the parentage of Aeolus there are some different versions (cf. Süss in RE 8.170ff.). He is a son of Hellen who was a son of Deucalion in Thuc. 1.2, Apollod. 1.7.2, Diod. Sic. 4.60, Strabo 8.7.1 = C383, 9.5.23 = C443. However, VF finds support, because Hellen is a son of Zeus in Apollod. 1.7.2 Ἕλλην . . ., ὃν ἐκ Διὸς γεγεννῆσθαι <ἔνιοι> λέγουσι, the Scholiast *ad* ARh 1.118 Ἀμυθάονος γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Διός, Eur. *frgm.* 14 N Ἕλλην γάρ, ὡς λέγουσι, γίγνεται Διός, *Ion* 63f. Αἰόλου δὲ τοῦ Διός/ γεγὼς Ἀχαιός. Eust. *ad Od.* 10.1 (p. 1644) tries to rationalize things by stating Αἰόλοι δέ φασι τρεῖς . . ., εἷς ὁ Κρηθέως καὶ Ἕλληνος παῖς, ὃν Ἕλληνα γόνῳ μέν φασι Διὸς εἶναι, λόγῳ δὲ Δευκαλίωνος.

Neptuno The name of the god of the sea is unexpected: Neptune took the likeness of the river(-god) Enipeus, and fathered two sons to Tyro, Pelias and Neleus. Later, Cretheus married Tyro, and they had three sons, of whom Aeson, Jason's father, was the eldest. It is as if Jason is proud that Neptune took a fancy to his grandmother. The story about beautiful Tyro is told in Hom. *Od.* 11.235–259, as well as in Diod.Sic. 4.68.

Salmonide Salmoneus (Σαλμωνεύς) was another son of Aeolus (so Cretheus married his niece). *Salmonis* (not in extant Greek) is often used for Tyro, *e.g.* Prop. 1.13.21, 3.19.13, Ov. *Am.* 3.6.43. Tyro also occurs in Prop. 2.28.51 (*candida*), Ov. *Ep.* 19.132 (*laudatissima forma*).

*

479. me neque nunc enses araeque egere paternae
480. nec tua Thessalicis quamquam inclita nomina terris
481. sponte sequor. cui non iusso tot adire voluptas
482. monstra maris, cui Cyaneos intrare fragores?

479–481 'nor have I been compelled for the moment by knives and paternal altars (like Phrixus), nor do I follow your name (though famous in the land of Thessalia) of my own free will'.

479 Ehlers is suspicious of *me neque nunc* . . . and in fact there is an alternative reading found by Heinsius *meque nec huc* (from his late codex **R**(egius) and printed by Burman). The word *nunc* makes little contribution ('in the present situation' comes nearest); but *huc* is similarly rather otiose. All editors before Kramer – as well as Mozley – followed Burman; Kramer, Courtney and Ehlers (hesitatingly) reverted

to the Ms. version. *me neque* and *meque nec* seem to be more or less equivalent, but *-que* introducing something new would be out of place. I see no good reason to change the sound Latin *me neque nunc.*

As to *neque . . . nec*, normalized by the conjecture to *nec . . . nec*, *nec* is as such much more frequent in VF, as in other poets (Axelson 115ff.; 118: '*nec* Normalform, *neque* Ausnahme'; Löfstedt 1.331ff.). *nec* is in later Latin fully dominant; cf. Sz. 448f. *neque . . . nec* and *nec . . . neque* are exceptional forms of contamination (Sz. 516). *neque . . . nec* with different verbs (as here in the Ms. version) occurs in VF in 5.652f. (compare further 8.247f.).

enses 'sacrificial knives'; Burman quotes *Aen.* 2.155 *vos, arae ensesque nefandi.*

480 quamquam with attribute from time to time in Cicero, afterwards more usual (Sz. 385; not yet in Vergil).

inclita nomina terris flattery.

481 sponte representing ἑκών in ARh 3.389f. 'who would of his own free will dare to cross so wide a sea . . .? But . . . the ruthless command of a presumptuous king urged me' (Seaton). *nec sponte sequor* has its model in *Aen.* 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor.* This seems a remarkably clear instance of words used in a completely different context, so that no allusion whatsoever can be involved; the words just try by quoting from the Aeneid to bring the Argonautic enterprise up to the level of Aeneas's mission. Jason explains that he did not seek the King's name of his own free will (which sounds feeble), Aeneas that it is not without the command of a god that he is abandoning Dido.

adire (monstra) cf. *Aen.* 1.10 *tot adire labores.*

482 monstra maris not 'sea monsters' (the sharks, Leviathans, etc., of *Aen.* 6.729 *et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus* have not been observed), but rather 'horrors'. For the sense of 'horror' cf. Sen. *Med.* 675f. *maius parat/ Medea monstra*, or VF 3.29 *nova monstra viro, nova funera volvit* (Cybele). Further Luc. 10.337 *ultricesque deae dant in nova monstra furorem*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.235 *proprios – monstrum! – revolutus in ortus.* – Notice the alliteration, as in 481, 477.

Cyaneas intrare fragores an instance of VF's *breviloquentia* (Langen 5), 'to be exposed to the terrible noise once one has entered the Cyanean narrows'.

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483. sceptra tui toto Pelias sub numine Phoebi
484. maxima sorte tenens totque †illa cremantia divos†
485. oppida, tot vigili pulcherrima flumina cornu,
486. ille meum imperiis urget caput, ille labores
487. dat varios, suus ut magnum rex spargit ab Argis
488. Alciden, Sthenelo ipse satus. tamen aspera regum
489. perpetimur iuga nec melior parere recuso.

483 sceptra 'kingdom'; cf. 8.146f. *haec tua tellus/ sceptraque, Aen.* 7.369 *omnem . . . sceptris terram quae libera nostris*, Ov. *Met.* 6.677 *sceptra loci rerumque capit moderamen Erechtheus*, Sen. *Oed.* 705 *qui sceptra duro saevus imperio regit.*

Pelias in 7.40f. Aeetes hotly, *quis regum Pelias, quis Thessalus aut quae/ Graecia?*

numine a conjecture of Heinsius for *nomine* Mss., printed only by Thilo. Another conjecture is *lumine* Sabellicus, followed by Kramer and Courtney. The phrases *numine Phoebi* and *nomine Phoebi both* find verbal parallels in Vergil, *Aen.* 9.661, 6.70, respectively. *toto sub numine Phoebi*, 'under the Sun' (*Eccles.* 1.3) is a Greek expression: Eurip. *Alc.* 151 γυνή τ' ἀρίστη τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ, Demosth. 18. 270 τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον . . . ἀνθρώπων; further Luc. 2.584 *terra . . . quocumque iacet sub sole*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.73f. *sole sub omni/ permeruit*, 4.6.6.

484 maxima (sceptra) For the adjective and its substantive each starting a new line cf. 297 n.

sorte *oste* **V, L,** *forte* **C**. Taylor 468 takes the further corruption of **V** & **L** as an indication that **C** represents an independent tradition. The conjecture *sorte* (Vossius, Gronovius) is obviously better Latin; although it cannot here have the technical sense of 'by lot', and rather stands for 'as his share' or more positively 'who was so fortunate as to hold'. Courtney compares *Aen.* 6.761 *proxima sorte tenet lucis loca.*

(sceptra) tenens cf. *Aen.* 1.57 *sceptra tenens* = VF 2.590, Ov. *Met.* 3.265, *Aen.* 1.236 (the Romans) *qui terras omnis dicione tenerent.*

illa cremantia divos for this crux (*illa cremantia divos* Mss.) several conjectures have been proposed: *ille ornantia clivos* Schenkl supp. Langen, *ille prementia clivos* Baehrens, *illa precantia divos* Madvig (*ille* Fr. Reuss), *ille armantia clivos* Bury, *illa trementia divos* Koestlin, *ille frequentia dives* Thilo, *ille creantia divos* Gronovius, *illa haerentia clivis* Ph. Wagner.

One would expect the phrase to say something relevant about the

oppida; some conjectures do this, but have nothing to do with Pelias and are mere stop-gaps.[47] I should like to read 'obedient to him' if there were metrical room for it. Although referring to *oppida*, the place in the line strongly recalls Verg. *G.* 2.157 *flumina . . . subterlabentia muros*, the more so in view of the next note. I feel this is an argument for replacing *illa cremantia* as a whole; cf. the conjecture *illacrimantia (divos)* discussed by Pius (1519). To my mind none of the proposals fits; the obeli should stand. As to *illa*, *ille* without a verb would be illogical; the combination *tot illa* makes little sense and there are no parallels (TLL 7.1.360.11ff.). The obeli can be extended to †*illa cremantia divos*†. For *divos* see directly below.

485 oppida . . . flumina cf. Verg. *G.* 2.155ff. *tot . . . urbes . . .,/ tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis/ fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.* Vergil's *oppida* are situated on sheer cliffs. This may give a clue to the sense of the corrupted words and strongly suggests some form of *clivus.*

vigili . . . flumina cornu for words combined with *vigil* Langen compares *ignis* (see below), *lucernae* Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.14, *curae* (see below). For the line-ending *flumina cornu* cf. 8.186. The *cornua* of rivers are often mentioned, in particular with reference to Achelous, but the many examples in TLL 4.966.70ff. (exceptionally in the singular) refer to cattle horns; once the 'branches' of a river are meant.[48] I agree with Langen, who concludes that these rivers hold horns to pour water from, this although all his examples speak of *urnae* (*Aen.* 7.792, Stat., Sil., Claud.). In the same vein he quotes from W. Helbig (*Wandgemälde Campaniens*, Leipzig, 1868) five wall-paintings with urns. He omits, however, example 70.251 (probably lost), where a river-god with a cornucopia is described (Waser, *R.E.* 6.2788.50ff.). A sculpture in the Vatican of the river Nile has a cornucopia in the left hand (W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1903, Taf. XVIII). – *vigil* ('unceasing') is sometimes used of inanimated things like *ignis* (*Aen.* 4.200, Ov. *Fast.* 6.267), *curae* (Ov. *Met.* 3.396). My interpretation of the word *vigil* here is as 'always streaming', 'never running dry'.

486 ille picking up the preceeding descriptions of Pelias. For the

[47] I cannot refrain from giving the solution of A.J. Kleywegt (pers. comm.) *illustrantia clivos*, cf. Cic. *Scaur.* 47 *Capitolium illud templis tribus illustratum.*

[48] Claud. 8 (*IV cos.Hon.*).652 *trans Rheni cornua*; cf. *bicornis Aen.* 8.727 with Servius and Rutil. Nam. 1.179.

peculiar instances of such 'redundant' *ille* with resumptive force cf. *Aen.* 5.186, 457, with Williams.

meum imperiis urget caput cf. 7.93f. *hoc omnes odiisque urgete, tyranni, imperiisque caput* (Jason's final answer, seeing now that Aeetes behaves like another Pelias, seeking to destroy Jason). In 5.18 *hoc . . . caput,* 294 *Aesonium caput,* and here, *caput* has the sense of 'person'.

labores Jason posing as another Hercules. Shey 153: 'The mere fact that Jason compares himself to Hercules is evidence that he is fully confident of himself now as leader'. – Interestingly the words *labores dat varios* occur right in the middle of section 455–518 (64 lines).

487 suus '*his own* king was as hostile to him, as mine to me'. The latter is called *rex suus* by Aeetes in 7.53.

spargit Langen *ad* 2.595 *Aeolios Fortuna nepotes/ spargit* seems right in rendering *spargit* 'sends' (old 5c); cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 979 *alias in urbes sparge (sc. me).*

488 Sthenelo satus this Sthenelus is not the companion of Hercules, as in 89, but a son of Perseus and Andromeda (RE 2474), father of Eurystheus, who was a cousin of Hercules's mother Alcmene. Through the machinations of Juno Eurystheus had the power to subject Hercules to his trials. Brothers of Sthenelus were Alcaeus and Electryon, the former father of Anaxo, the latter father by her of Alcmene (Apollod. 2.4.5). Compare Ov. *Met.* 9.273f. *Steneleius . . . / . . . Eurystheus, Ep.* 9.25 *(Deianira Herculei): Steneleius hostis.*

489 perpetimur (aspera regum iuga) cf. (TLL 7.2.641.70ff.), *e.g.* Sen. *Her.F.* 432 *cur ergo regi servit et patitur iugum* (sc. Hercules), Sil. 3.138f. *an Romana iuga . . . / perpetiar?* For yokes of kings cf. *Oct.* 250 *orbis tyrannus quem premit turpi iugo,* 839f. *gravi semper iugo/ premenda (Roma).*

nec melior parere recuso cf. *Aen.* 2.607 *neu praeceptis parere recusa,* Stat. *Theb.* 7.375 *reges quibus haud parere recusem/ ductor.* For *nec . . . recuso* cf., in addition, 8.198 *nec me ire recuso, Aen.* 2.704 *nec tibi comes ire recuso,* 12.12 *nec quae pepigere recusent.* For *melior* (referring to Jason's valour) cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.28 *Tydides melior patre,* Liv. 32.34.2 *aut bello vincendum, aut melioribus parendum esse.* Present *melior* has concessive sense. Probably there is influence (after Aeetes has grimly supposed them to be οὐδὲν ἐμεῖο χέρηες) of ARh 3.420 δὴ γὰρ ἀεικὲς/ ἄνδρ'

ἀγαθὸν γεγαῶτα κακωτέρῳ ἀνέρι εἶξαι. Aeetes takes this up in his sinister way, ARh 3.437f. ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλος/ ἀνὴρ ἐρρίγῃσιν ἀρείονα φῶτα μετελθεῖν.

*

490. hic sibi me auratae pecudis quiscumque periclis
491. exuvias perferre iubet. tibi gratia nostri
492. sit precor haec meritique loco, quod iussa recepi
493. teque alium quam quem Pelias speratque cupitque
494. promisi et meliora tuae mihi foedera dextrae.

490 me auratae elision of a long syllable is unusual; for instances in the present book see 459 n.

quiscumque *quis* is an archaic form of *quibus*, used in epic poetry, later back in prose (Austin *ad Aen.* 1.95). (*quiscumque* can also be found in 3.684).

491/4 'I pray that the following may be a source of favour to us, (instead of having merited it)' (reading *loco*): 'that I have complied with orders and <that> I have formed an opinion of you quite different from what Pelias eagerly expects, including a promising alliance between you and me'.

491 gratia nostri *nostri* objective genitive; cf. 4.124 = 7.520 *fiducia nostri*, or in Vergil *Aen.* 8.514, *G.* 4.324f. *nostri amor*, *Aen.* 7.263 *cupido nostri*, as well as, with *mei*, VF 7.37 *amor mei*, 7.438 *mei spes*, 7.480 *cura mei.* The phrase represents ARh 3.391 δὸς χάριν ἀντομένοισι.

492 haec going with *gratia*, both being referred to by the *quod* ('that') clause. Courtney cautiously compares *hoc* (ablative of reason why), as used by VF in 2.457 *acrius hoc*, 4.301 *hoc saevior.* Such a causal ablative without *propter* seems harsh.

meritique loco the above interpretation of *haec gratia*, viz. *quod*. . ., goes better with *loco* Heinsius, 'these standing for merit' than with *locus* Mss. *loco* has only been printed by Burman, Langen, and Mozley. The construction *tibi gratia sit et locus*, with *locus* as 'room for <appreciation of> merit', is to my mind an accumulation of dissimilar things such as VF would not allow. I prefer *loco.*

quod iussa recepi cf. ARh 3.389f. ἀλλά με δαίμων/ καὶ κρυερὴ βασιλῆος ἀτασθάλου ὦρσεν ἐφετμή.

493 speratque cupitque *-que* . . . *-que*, the first poetically

redundant, also in 5.575; cf. *Aen.* 4.83, 1.18, both with Austin ('a feature of epic style, found already in Ennius, who took it over from the Homeric correlation τε . . . τε').

494 (sc. mihi) promisi Langen compared Luc. 2.320ff. *nec, si fortuna favebit,/ hunc quoque totius sibi ius promittere mundi/ non bene compertum est,* 7.759 *cum spe romanae promiserit omnia praedae.*

foedera dextrae as in *Aen.* 11.292 *coeant in foedera dextrae,* Diomedes suggesting that the local king (Latinus) should come to terms with the god-sent stranger (Aeneas); the present situation, from the point of view of Jason, is similar. Compare further *Aen.* 10.517 *dextraeque datae.*

*

495. si petere hoc saevi statuissem sanguine belli,
496. Ossa dabat Pindusque rates quotque ante secuti
497. inde nec audacem Bacchum nec Persea reges.
498. sed me nuda fides sanctique potentia iusti
499. huc tulit ac medii sociatrix gratia Phrixi
500. iamque tibi nostra geniti de stirpe nepotes.

495 compare ARh 3.350f. οὐ γὰρ ἱκάνει/ χερσὶ βιησόμενος (Argus speaking for Jason).

si . . . saevi statuissem sanguine notice the alliteration.

sit . . . statuissemt . . ./ (. . . dabat) cf. Sz. 328 for imperfect indicative in the main clause after *si* with pluperfect; K/S 2.402(b), where cases similar to *dabat* are interpreted as a (real) possibility.

sanguine belli the combination does not occur in Vergil, Ovid, or Silver Latin poetry; however, cf. *Aen.* 7.541, 12.79 *sanguine bellum* (also ending the line).

496 Ossa . . . Pindusque that Ossa supported growth of woodland is testified by 1.448 *Ossaeae quercus,* Luc. 1.389 *piniferae Ossae,* Stat. *Theb.* 8.79 *frondenti Ossae,* Plin. *Nat.* 31.43 *undique (silvis) vestiuntur* (about Olympus, Ossa, etc.). – In the story of the giants piling up Pelion and Ossa on top of Olympus, the first is credited with forest in the model Hom. *Od.* 11.315, Olympus in Verg. *G.* 1.281 and Sen. *Ag.* 346, but not Ossa. The high Pindus mountains are not often mentioned; Ossa and Pindus together in Ov. *Met.* 2.225 *Ossaque cum Pindo.* Allusions to the giants increase the speaker's heroic stature. – From the wood more ships could have been built, even a whole

fleet; necessary because, apparently, Aeetes has a navy ready, that pursues the Argo in book 8 (8.261, *classis*).

497 inde 'from that (our) country'.

audacem not applied to Bacchus elsewhere. But his *acies* have already been mentioned (5.77) in connection with the Indian campaign. – Dionysus and Perseus had been in conflict (J.L. Caterall, RE 10.987); cf. Nonnus *Dionys.* 47.481ff., where Perseus is inspired by Hera. The two sons of Zeus are rescued by Hermes as *deus ex machina.*

reges Langen cites *reges* for 'Argonautae' in 1.203, 342; 3.28, 173, 504; 4.543. For *reges* around Perses cf. 273.

498 nuda fides 'faith that has nothing to hide'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.7 *incorrupta fides nudaque veritas*, Ov. *Am.* 1.3.14 *nudaque simplicitas.*

sanctique potentia iusti not at all a usual combination, causing Langen cautiously to suggest *an iuris?*; Augustine has (*in psalm.* 110.2) *ut iustitiae potentiam contumax non evadat. sanctus* is applied to *leges* in Hor. *S.* 2.1.81 *sanctarum inscitia legum.*

499 'your favour with regard to Phrixus as an intermediary uniting us'.

sociatrix *hapax legomenon*, as some other *nomina agentis*, like *gestatrix* (4.605), *memoratrix* (6.142, Contino 19).

medii . . . Phrixi for *medius* in this sense cf. *Aen.* 7.536 *dum paci medium se offert* ('as an intermediary'), as well as (TLL 8.590.48ff.) Prop. 2.9.50 *(cecidere) Thebani media non sine matre duces*, Sen. *Contr.* 1.1.3 *me foederi medium pignus addite*, Luc. 1.118 *ut generos soceris mediae iunxere Sabinae*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.557 *et hic genetrix eadem mediaeque sorores.* For the genitive cf. 491 n.

500 iamque 'and finally'.

nepotes how could Jason know that Aeetes's daughter has given him grandchildren from Phrixus? The reader can do so from ARh (cf. 232n.).

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501. nec tamen aut Phrygios reges aut arva furentis
502. Bebryciae spernendus adi: seu fraude petivit
503. seu quis honore meos, sua reddita dona deumque
504. nos genus atque ratem magnae sensere Minervae.
505. vix tandem longis quaesitam Colchida votis
506. contigimus qualemque dabat te fama videmus.

501/502 'Yet I have not come either to Phrygian kings or to the fields of furious Bebrycia to be regarded as a coward'.

501 tamen although Jason was brought by good faith and the power of justice, nevertheless. . . .

Phrygios reges must be a poetic plural (with a pinch of bragging) since the only Phrygian king they have met was Laomedon of Troy, where Hercules distinguished himself (2.445–578). (Cyzicus's realm was bordering on Phrygia (2.632f.), and the battle there unlawful and nothing to boast of; Phineus and Lycus, not in Phrygia at all, were just friends.)

arva . . . (Bebryciae) *arva* with a genitive of the country in Liv. 9.36.11 *opulenta Etruriae arva, Inc.Trag.* (Ribb.) 164 *ecferta arva Asiae.*

502 Bebryciae the land, *furens,* for the king Amycus (4.99–343).

adi abbreviated form for *adii*; rare, the only other examples of similarly shortened perfects in K/H 783 are *ini* Stat. *Theb.* 1.69, 8.107, *redi* Sen. *Her.F.* 612, *Her.O.* 22, 48, 795, 1162 (all ending the line), Claud. 5(*Ruf.2*).387, as well as some cases of *peti, desi, sepeli.*

seu fraude (seu honore) Langen compares *Aen.* 7.235 *sive fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis. seu quis petivit fraude seu honore* may be rendered as 'whether someone attacked us in a fraudulent way' (Amycus) 'or in an honourable way' (Cyzicus).

503 sua . . . dona with a suggestion of 'what it is meet to pay back to treacherous monarchs'. Yet Laomedon, although pondering guile (2.567), did not in the context of the *Argonautica* cheat Hercules of his due wages, nor can Cyzicus, if involved at all, be said to have paid them anything but respect. The phrasing is rhetorical, aiming at impressing Aeetes rather than describing facts.

reddita sc. *sunt.*

504 (deum) genus atque ratem sensere Minervae to be read as *senserunt nos genus deum, et ratem opus magnae Minervae.* Aeetes's disdainful, but suspicious answer will be given in 7.59f. *(si) . . . latet una/ nescio quid plus puppe viris,* as well as 7.70f. *tecumque retracta/ cumque tuis haec iussa deis.* Here is shown the gulf separating the demi-god who converses daily with his father.

genus cf. *Aen.* 6.123 *et mi genus ab Iove summo,* Hor. *Epod.* 4.6 *fortuna non mutat genus,* Tac. *Hist.* 4.55.1 *regium illi genus.*

505 vix tandem 'at last we landed, and <already> we see . . .'. The words *vix tandem* occur thrice in VF, four times in Vergil, once opening the line as here in *Aen.* 2.128, where Williams, after quoting Plaut., Ter., Cic. *ad Fam.*, concludes 'these passages show that the expression has its roots in familiar speech'.

longis . . . votis for the combination, and *longus* standing for 'requiring time for their realization' cf. (from TLL 7.2.1637.50ff.) Tac. *Ann.* 15.19.2 *longa patrum vota*; different Stat. *Theb.* 1.323 *et longo consumit gaudia voto* ('far-reaching' Mozley), *Silv.* 3.2.100 *longisque sequar tua carbasa votis*, 'however far you may go').

506 dabat for 'told of', 'described'; cf. 218. Burman compares Stat. *Theb.* 3.10f. *an sceleris data fama per urbes/ finitimas?*.

te . . . videmus counterpart to *hi tibi . . . cernimur* (476).

fama what is the reputation of Aeetes recorded up to now?: 264f. *nec vulgi cura tyranno/ dum sua sit modo tuta salus*, 289f. *perfida regis/ corda*, 480 *inclita nomina terris* (flattery, as here), 4.618 *hostem* (in the prophecy of Phineus). The word *fama* is used without an ethical note in 316 *nec fama fefellit/ Soligenam Aeeten media regnare sub Arcto*, and will be used in 552 finally to reveal what was the general opinion of Aeetes, *nec ferus Aeetes ut fama* (from 1.43).

In ARh (3.378f.) Aeetes is very *ferus*!: if the Argonauts had not been his guests at a meal first ἦ τ' ἄν ἀπὸ γλώσσας τε ταμὼν καὶ χεῖρε κεάσσας/ ἀμφοτέρας, οἵοισιν ἐπιπροέηκα πόδεσσιν.

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507. tu modo ne claros Minyis invideris actus!
508. non aliena peto terrisve indebita nostris
509. (si quis et in precibus vero locus) atque ea Phrixo
510. crede dari, Phrixum ad patrios ea ferre penates.

507 modo moderating commands so as to make these more acceptable ('just', Sz. 616a), or (thereby) more effective according to K/S 1.201f., which is in keeping with Risselada's analysis – first presenting a restriction, and then stressing that *that* is a minimum. In the present context *modo* has at first sight the submissive sense of 'only a few', but at the same time the 'only' thing he asks is the renown of bringing the world-famous treasure home. *modo* with *claros . . . actus* is almost an oxymoron. Pure rhetoric!

ne . . . invideris to be interpreted as if it were present tense, 'do not grudge'; cf., *e.g.*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.1, VF 5.539. *invideris* can

stand, despite Stiewe's proposal of *incideris*, quoting Sil. 3.78 *si quis forte deum tantos inciderit actus*. Ehlers 1971:130 defended *invideris*, because the context in Silius is different, and because in *invidere actus* the words can have their standard senses. For *invidere* with dative and accusative cf. TLL 7.2.193.70ff.

claros Jason appears to make Odysseus his model of self-praise (Hom. *Od.* 9.20), followed by Aeneas in *Aen.* 1.379.

actus 'enterprise'; cf. 2.5 'task', 4.163 'deeds'; a word of Silver Latin use (apart from Gratt. 233) and later (TLL 1.453.3ff.): four times in Luc., thrice in VF, thrice in Sil., seven times in Stat., attested in Pers., Sen. Val.Max. Examples: Luc. 8.807 *adde actus tantos*, Sil. 1.459 *ingentes deserit actus*. Also in 542.

508 non aliena peto . . . ve indebita 'I do not ask for things of which I am not the owner . . . or which are not due (to my land)'. Schenkl compared *Aen.* 6.66f. *non indebita posco/ regna meis fatis*. In the phrase *aliena* refers to things belonging to *me*, *indebita* to things not belonging to the speaker's country; the two words *alienus* and *indebitus* take turns for variation's sake.

terrisve . . . nostris Jason's king is asking for the Fleece; the mission is an official one. The dress of the Minyans clearly shows them to be Greeks (362). The answer of Aeetes in 7.35 starts with the sinister address *orbe satos alio*, continuing in 7.58 with *si tamen his aliter perstas non cedere terris*, etc.

509 vero locus 'room for truth', *vero* as if only because *veritati* just could not metrically be accommodated into the line. I do not think the conjecture *iuri* (Bury, Mozley) is an improvement. *vero* as a dative of *verum* is not a usual expression; however, cf. *Aetna* 177 *Aetna: sui manifesta fides et proxima vero est*. The parenthesis *si quis et in precibus vero locus* serves a merely rhetorical purpose, reinforcing as it were once more *non indebita peto*.

patrios penates equivalent to *terris nostris*. Such duplications (cf. *indebita* n. above) have a rhetorical effect, veiling the point of the argument, just as the tortuous opening does; they serve to mask the crude intention to request someone else's property.

Phrixo Jason is speaking as if he is the heir of Phrixus. His speech is based upon the one of Argus in ARh, who is in fact the son of Phrixus; but in VF something *alienum* and *indebitum* is the very thing Jason is asking!

511. munera tu contra victum mihi vecta per aequor
512. accipe, Taenarii chlamydem de sanguine aeni
513. frenaque et accinctum gemmis fulgentibus ensem:

511 munera a sword and a cloak are conventional gifts (cf. Poortvliet 223f.); a bridle is added in *Aen.* 8.168 (*pharetra, chlamys auro intertexta, frena aurea*). They occur also in (TLL 6.1.1291.29ff.) Sil. 4.269 *fulvis donabere frenis*, 6.135 (sword and bridle).

contra Lüthje notes that, although the wording suggests (cunningly) that Jason's gifts are a counterpart for the Fleece, in fact he first asks to receive the Fleece as an heirloom; the gifts are presented as a 'Zugabe'.

victum . . . vecta per aequor for the idea Langen cites Sen. *Med.* 364f. *pontus . . . omnes/ patitur leges*, 596 *mare qui subegit*, Man. 1.623 *clavumque ratis quae vicerat aequor.* For the alliteration cf. 219 n.; for alliteration with variable inserted vowel cf. 325 n.

512 Taenarii . . . de sanguine aeni *de* 'made from', *sanguis* poetically, for 'purple' (cf. Mart. 14.154.1 *ebria Sidoniae cum sim de sanguine conchae/ non video quare sobria lana vocer*, or in Greek Lucian. 19(*Catapl.*).16); *aenum* for 'kettle' (see below). Taenarium is the Peloponnesian peninsula of Cape Matapan, dividing the Messenian and the Laconian Gulf, and, by extension, may just denote 'Sparta', as in Ov. *Met.* 2.247 *Taenarius Eurotas*, VF 1.427 *Taenario . . . fuco*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.659 *Taenariam . . . pallam.* The best purple-snails in Europe come from Laconia (Gytheion, Plin. *Nat.* 9.127, Paus. 3.21.6); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.7f. *nec Laconicas mihi/ trahunt honestae purpuras clientae* with Nisbet/Hubbard. Purple is produced from a gland in some marine snails of the genera *Purpura* and *Murex*; after excision salt is added, and the mixture has to be heated in a kettle for 10 days (Plin. *N.* 9.133); cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.61f. *illic et Tyrium quae purpura sensit aenum/ texitur*, *Rem.* 707f., Sen. *Her.O.* 663 *nec Sidonio mollis aeno/ repetita bibit lana rubores.* Alkaline extraction frees the dye (K. Schneider, RE 23.2000ff.).

513 frena *-que* makes *chlamydem* and *frena* go together which suggests that the *frena* fit somehow to the *chlamys.*

accinctum *accinctum* Mss. was printed by Schenkl, Langen, Giarratano, Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers.[49] 'girded' is unexpected of a

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[49] However, a conjecture of Jacobs (1807) is *accensum*, printed by Thilo, Baehrens,

sword itself, because in the sense 'provided with' ("besetzt von" Rupprecht) it normally describes the *owner* of the sword, as in 4.593 *animos accinge futuris*, or *Aen.* 6.570, 9.74 *facibus pubes accingitur atris* (the latter two instances of the word adduced by Langen as supporting present *accinctum*). Even in fourth-century panegyrics or Ammian as listed in TLL 1.303.78ff. together with the present line, there is still a military connotation. *accinctum* in 5.513 is likely to represent *aptum* as used in Ennius *Ann.* V29 = S27 *caelum . . . stellis fulgentibus aptum* (identical to V145 = S159 and *Aen.* 4.482, 6.797, 11.202; also, *nox . . . apta* in V339 = S348). This would amount to a pun, since normally a sword is girded on a man, but here the gems are 'girded' to the sword. Compare Lucr. 6.357 *stellis fulgentibus apta/. . . caeli domus*, based upon Hom. *Il.* 15.371 εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα. A sword embellished with gems figures in *Aen.* 4.261f. *stellatus iaspide fulva/ ensis.*

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514. hoc patrium decus, haec materni texta laboris,
515. his Lapithes adsuerat eques. da iungere dextram,
516. da Scythicas sociare domos. sciat effera regis
517. ira mei, quem te horrifero sortitus in axe
518. Caucasus atque tuis quantum mitescat habenis'.

514 hoc . . . haec . . . (his) referring to sword, cloak, reins, respectively. Similarly Hypsipyle gave Jason a cloak and a sword (2.409, 418).

hoc patrium decus 'an object which gave my father distinction'; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 2.119 *hoc puerile decus* 'in what a child wished to excel' (Achilles's deeds as a boy), different from Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.155 *puerile decus*, 'boyish charm' (Mozley). *patrium decus* occurs further (TLL 5.1.245.38ff.) in Ov. *Met.* 3.548 *patrium retinete decus* ('glory'), Sil. 3.70f. *amplior, oro,/ sis patrio decore* ('renown'), 4.517 *sanguinei patrium saguli decus.* From TLL 5.1.242.26 *decus* for a sword seems to be used only here, but cf. *Aen.* 5.262 *viro decus* (for a *lorica*). Abstract *decus* in Sen. *Thy.* 528 *fratri paternum reddere incolumi decus* ('dignity').

materni a nice contrast with *patrium*: from both his parents.

Bury, Mozley. Jacobs quoted Sil. 15.678 *et gemmis galeam clipeumque accenderat auro* and Stat. *Theb.* 10. 60 *mixtoque incenditur auro.* Compare further VF 8.115 *nubibus accensis similem* (the Fleece), or 5.369 *saevo nox accenditur auro.* In spite of all this support, *accinctum* can be retained; see main text.

515 Lapithes (Λαπίθης) the Lapithae were supposed to have invented the use of reins and bridle; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.115 *frena Pelethronii Lapithae* (with Plin. *Nat.* 7.202, Hyg. *Fab.* 274.2), VF 1.424 *Thessalico . . . freno*, 3.12f. *Thessala . . ./ frena*, Luc. 6.396ff. *primus . . . Thessalicus sonipes . . . exsiluit, . . . frenosque momordit spumavitque novis Lapithae domitoris habenis.* The name of one tribesman is used adjectivally in VF 7.604f., where the invention of the bridle by the mythical ancestor Lapithes is mentioned, at the very moment when the first horse springs from the earth. In connection with taming horses the battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs comes to mind.

da iungere cf. *Aen.* 6.66 *da . . . Latio considere Teucros*, Ov. *Ars* 2.28f. *(quoniam) vivere non potui, da mihi posse mori,/ da reditum puero. da* is frequently followed by an infinitive in poetry; the sense of *dare* shifts from 'setting into motion' to 'permitting' (K/S 1.681). As to the sequence *da . . . da* there is a list in Barich 29 note 46 of anaphora near the end of a speech. The phenomenon is found again in 5.647 at the end of the speech of Mars.

dextram Langen and J.A. Wagner followed Carrio (*vet. cod.*) in printing *dextram*, in the wake of Burman. Schenkl 328 commented that *dona* **V+L** is the more sophisticated expression, which is why he prefers it. Recently, Delz proposed *donis*, comparing VF 6.692 *(Parthis) foedere donato . . . iungeret auro*, where, however, to my mind an ablative absolute is involved. A better argument for *donis* would seem Stat. *Ach.* 1.722 *clipeumque his iungere donis*; however, there something is added to, united with, the *dona*, *donis* being dative, not instrumental ablative. Delz construes *da domos iungere donis, da domos sociare*, which creates an unpleasant change in the houses first serving as gifts, then to live in. Furthermore, the only possible object to *iungere*, that is, *domos*, does not suit the sense required. I therefore do not accept *donis*. *iungere dona* can probably only mean that gifts should be linked to the gifts already mentioned, that is, that Aeetes should add the Fleece. This does not make sense with *da* in the sense of 'allow'.

I agree with Burman that *iungere dona* does not give the required sense, unlike, for instance, VF 3.13 *iunxere penates*, where it does. There is a possibility that *dextram* has crept into Carrio's Mscr. as a renaissance correction by analogy with Vergil (*Aen.* 1.408f. *cur dextrae iungere dextram/ non datur*, 6.697f. *da iungere dextram, da, genitor*, 8.467 *iungunt dextras*, 8.164 *dextrae coniungere dextram*, 1.514 *avidi coniungere dextras*); but since a substitute is needed for *dona*, *dextram* has the benefit of the doubt, although for the corruption no clear pathway presents itself.

In Argus's speech in ARh 3.353 Jason is willing to subdue the Sauromatae, Σαυρομάτας, τοὺς σοῖσιν ὑπὸ σκήπτροισι δαμάσσει, and present *dextra* may refer to that line, together with ARh 3.392ff. the source of the whole book 6 (compare Hunter *ad* ARh 3.351–353).

516 da (sc. nobis) Scythicas sociare domos 'allow that we unite in partnership with Scythian homes', 'erlaube mir, mich als *socius* dem scythischen Haus an zu schliessen' (Delz 12); cf. 288f. *stat pectore fixum/ Aeetae sociare manus* (Juno), *Aen.* 1.598ff. *o, quae nos (sc. tibi) . . . urbe, domo socias.*

effera 'ferocious', a word proper to tyrants (Pelias); cf. 4.318 *(Amycum) effera servantem Ponti loca, Aen.* 8.484f. *facta tyranni/ effera.* There is a nice contrast with *mitescat* in 518.

sciat for the motif 'let something (him, you) learn about . . .' cf. *Aen.* 11.708 *iam nosces ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem.*[50]

517 quem te in the sense of *qualem*, as in 139 *qui furor*; cf. 139 n.

te horrifero for the elision of a long monosyllable cf. 459 n. For *horrifer* see 306 n.

sortitus (sc. est) 'has been allotted', here 'as his ruler', more often 'as his share'; cf. Sen. *Her.F.* 53 *(Ditem) ipsum . . . paria sortitum Iovi,* and [Tib.] Lygd. 3.5.22 *sortiti tertia regna dei,* Ov. *Met.* 8.595f. *'O proxima mundi/ regna vagae' dixi 'sortite Tridentifer undae'.*

517/518 'Let us make my king's anger know what a wonderful ruler Caucasus (though under such a forbidding heaven) has been allotted, and to what degree it is becoming mild'.

518 Caucasus the answer of Aeetes in 7.55 has *ante meus . . . Caucasus descendet . . .*; further 7.564f.

mitescat cf. *Aen.* 1.291 *aspera tum positis mitescunt saecula bellis,* Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.39 *nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,* Ov. *Met.* 14.697 *facta quibus flecti facile et mitescere possis. mites* is applied to the Colchians in 4.706 where Jason hopes that *mites dent vellera Colchi,* although Phineus 4.618f. had predicted *ipse truces illic Colchos hostemque iuvabis/ auxiliis.*

habenis instead of *harenis* Mss., from **C** or Balbus, 1524, or Engentin, 1525, and printed ever since. For *habenae* see 436 n.

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[50] In *Aen.* 5.788 *causas tanti sciat illa furoris* (Venus about Juno), the use of *sciat* is different; it is not (merely) scornful, not a threat, but indicates that (apparently) the speaker is at a loss: '<only> she herself can know why . . .'.

f2. *519–566: The answer*

Aeetes is a whirlpool of emotions during Jason's speech (519–534). The king does not recognize the essentially peaceful request, but takes him for another enemy. Finally he resolves to try to invoke Jason's assistance in the war with Perses, answers (534–541), and promises the Fleece as a reward. Castor brings the news to the rest of the Minyans. They take their weapons and come to the city.

Shelton 313: 'This is the kind of psychological probing at which this poet excels'. Similarly, VF excels in psychological descriptive characterization in 1.64ff., 7.309ff. Where Vergil and Statius have this kind of description (it can be found in *Aen.* 4.279ff., or *Aen.* 9.399ff.), it is generally shorter; they prefer to let the characters give themselves away in direct speech, or to use a simile. In a situation very similar to VF's present one, the suspense after Tydeus's address to the king is depicted in one five-line simile in Stat. *Theb.* 2.410ff. – In Aeetes's words the fears of his father (1.505–527) are borne out. Compare Lüthje 226–231, Shelton 313–319.

Just as there is much resemblance between the speech of Jason 471–518 with the one of Ilioneus *Aen.* 7.212–248, so the answer of Aeetes has some traits in common with the answer of Latinus *Aen.* 7.249–286, see nn. *ad* 519, 528.

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519. Talibus orantem vultu gravis ille minaci
520. iamdudum fremit et furiis ignescit opertis.
521. ceu tumet atque imo sub gurgite concipit austros
522. unda silens, trahit ex alto sic barbarus iras
523. et nunc ausa viri, nunc heu sua prodita Grais
524. regna fremit. quin et facili sibi mente receptum
525. iam Phrixum dolet et Scythiae periisse timores.

519 talibus orantem omission of *dictis* already in *Aen.* 10.96 *talibus orabat Iuno*; cf. *Aen.* 7.249 *talibus . . . dictis . . . Latinus*, 4.219 *talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem*, 4.362, VF 4.38 *talibus orantem dictis visuque fruentem. . . . orare* with *dicta* in Lucr. 4.837 *nec dictis orare priusquam lingua creatast*, and with *talia dicta* in *Aen.* 6.124 *(Aeneas) talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat.*

vultu gravis ille minaci 'his brow heavy with threats' (Mozley). For *vultu minaci* cf. (TLL 8.996.42ff.), in poetry, Luc. 2.509, 5.213, Calp. *Ecl.* 4.1 *vultuque subinde minaci* (all with *minaci* occupying

the line-end, as here), *Oct.* 723, or Tac. *Ger.* 30.2, *al.* Compare further Germ. 175 *ore minaci*, Luc. 7.291, Sil. 3.76, *oculos minaces*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.43.2; or 4.84.1 *minax facies.*

520 fremit the Mss.' reading *orantem . . . fremit* requires that *fremere* with accusative of a person can be attested. According to TLL 6.1.1284.14ff. the only other instance of a human being as object is Stat. *Theb.* 4.615 *(iacet ille) quem fremis.* In 524 *fremere regna* occurs. Such transitivization is also found in the case of *gemere* and *queri* (Sz. 32). Heinsius proposed *premit*, followed by J.A. Wagner, Baehrens, Courtney, Ehlers; but Burman, Lemaire and all other edd. retained *fremit*, (though Burman also suggested *tremit*). But what does it mean that Aeetes *premit* Jason? Aeetes does not overwhelm, overpower, silence, throttle him, does not keep him in custody. As far as *premit* is concerned, with Burman 'I feel that I can understand it badly'. *fremit* has a better case. The atmosphere is related to ARh 3.367f., after the request (made there by Argus), where Aeetes ἐπεχώσατο μύθοις/ εἰσαίων· ὑψοῦ δὲ χόλῳ φρένες ἠερέθοντο.

ignescit according to TLL 7.1.283.8ff., there are (only) two other cases with human subjects, Sil. 9.460 *tum Virgo, ignescens penitus*, Claud. 20(*Eutr.2*).46 *(tum) pectora . . . stimulis ignescere.*

521 ceu . . . one other extensive simile introduced by *ceu* is found in 163ff.; a short one at 191. The simile of the billow is ultimately based on Hom. *Il.* 4.422ff.; *imo fundo, ima unda, ex altoque trahit* seem words derived from Vergilian emulations as found in *Aen.* 7.528ff. *fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere vento/ paulatim in sese tollit mare et altius undas/ erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethere fundo, G.* 3.237ff. *fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto/ longius ex altoque sinum trahit, utque volutus/ ad terras immane sonat per saxa neque ipso/ monte minor procumbit, at ima exaestuat unda/ verticibus nigrumque alte subjectat harenam.* In Homer an army is like waves breaking on a beach. In the *Georgics* the bull's emotions are compared to a breaker in the midst of the sea; the *Aeneid* takes up many of the same words, used to compare the waves to an army in full array. The present variant applied to a man's emotions is a sober form, with the emphasis now changed to the waves giving birth to a storm.

imo sub gurgite cf. (TLL 6.2.2362.16ff.) 1.657 *gurgite ab imo*, Ov. *Met.* 6.364 *imoque e gurgite, Fast.* 3.591 *imoque a gurgite*, Sil. 4.685 *imo penitus de gurgite*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.371 *gurgite in imo*, Plin. *Nat.* 9.53 *(thynni) tempore hiberno latent in gurgitibus imis.*

concipit cf. Stat. Theb. 7.809 *concepto flamine*, with Smolenaars

ad loc. For the concept of a sea that *tumet* (that is, becomes pregnant of gales) cf. Sen. *Dial. (Ira 1)* 3.17.4 *non aliter quam qui a terra venti surgunt et fluminibus paludibusque concepti sine pertinacia vehementes sunt.* Seneca explains his view elsewhere, *Nat.* 5.8.1 *quomodo ergo talis flatus concipitur quem Graeci ἐγκολπίαν vocant? Quicquid ex se paludes et flumina remittunt... nocte non exhauritur et montibus inclusum in unam regionem colligitur. Cum illam implevit et iam se non capit, exprimitur aliquo...; hic ventus est* (with which cf. [Arist]. *Mundo* 394b οἱ δὲ ἐκ κόλπων διεξάττοντες ἐγκολπίαι· τούτοις δὲ ἀνάλογον τι ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐκ ποταμῶν καὶ λιμνῶν). (Lakes and fens also in Sen. *Nat.* 5.14.2; more about subterranean winds in 5.14.1, 5.5.1, or Ov. *Met.* 15.299ff.) This explanation of *concipere* as 'to conceive' (Sil. 9.283f. *procellas/ parturit unda freti*) can adduce Luc. 5.566f. *aestuat unda minax, flatusque incerta futuri/ turbida testantur conceptos aequora ventos*, *Aetna* 101 *terra voraginibus conceptas digerit auras*, the following lines explaining that it is *haud mirum clausis etiam si libera ventis/ spiramenta latent* (134f.).

austros for a definition of *auster* see Sen. *Nat.* 5.16.6 *a meridiano axe εὐρόνοτος est; deinde νότος, latine auster.* For its character cf. Pl. *Mer.* 876 *istic auster imbricus*; on the other hand, abroad it may seem drier, as in Luc. 10.222 *calidique vaporibus Austri* (in Egypt), Ov. *Met.* 7.532 *letiferis calidi spirarunt aestibus Austri* (on Aegina). See further 73 n.

522 trahit ex alto cf. Verg. *G.* 3.238 (quoted above) *ex altoque sinum trahit*: first used for the depths below a wave, here for the deep inner world of a person.

barbarus mixed with the notions of 'the other, the non-Greek' (as in 424) are depreciative associations, as in Cic. *Phil.* 13.21 *quia tam barbarus umquam? tam immanis? tam ferus?*, Prop. 3.16.13f. *quisquis amator erit, Scythicis licet ambulet oris:/ nemo adeo, ut feriat (v.l.: noceat), barbarus esse volet.*

iras *ira, irae* (frequent anyhow) occur more specifically in the context of the rage of that other tyrant, Pelias (at the disappearance of Acastus), in 1.722f. *iraque minaci/ terribilis*, 748 *saevos irarum concipit ignes.*

523 ausa viri he can only mean Jason's quest and the perils overcome.

prodita (regna) dominant use of the participle: '*proditionem regni fremit*', or an accusative with infinitive construction. The betrayal is in the fact that Phrixus had been kindly received, made his son-in-law; and what comes of it!

524 (nunc ausa . . ., nunc sua prodita . . .) regna fremit cf. 4.234 *fremit ausum*;[51] K/S 1.262 describe the transitivization of several verbs, often first taking an accusative of internal object. For *fremere* with object cf. 521 n.; here the verb may also go with *sua regna prodita esse*. Compare further Cassius Hemina (*in* Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.56) *fremere imperia*, *Aetna* 3 *quid fremat imperium*.

receptum sc. *esse*, in view of the coordination with *periisse*. For the words cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.43.7 *Moschus exul in Massiliensis receptus*; for the mood in which Phrixus had been received cf. ARh 3.584ff. οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰολίδην Φρίξον . . ./ δέχθαι . . . ἐφέστιον . . ./. . ./ εἰ μὴ οἱ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς . . . ἄγγελον ἧκεν. – The disavowal of his son-in-law again pathetically detracts from Aeetes.

525 Scythiae . . . timores apparently before Phrixus any foreigner reaching the Scythian coasts perished there; here may be an allusion to the Taurian situation. On Scythia cf. Thucid. 2.97.6 . . . μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν. ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ ἔθνος ἓν πρὸς ἓν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατὸν Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι, Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.25f. *quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,/ quis Germania quos horrida parturit/ fetus, incolumi Caesare?*

*

526. nunc quassat caput ac iuvenis spes ridet inanes,
527. quid vesanus agat, quod vellera poscat ab angue.
528. urit et antiquae memorem vox praescia sortis:

526 nunc quassat after *iamdudum* (520) still describing the to and fro in the tyrant's mind. Shelton 314 takes *quassat* and *ridet* as outward signs of interest in Jason's aims; rather, the laughing denotes inward scorn, the (negative) shaking of the head is an unconscious sign of refusal.

quassat shaking the head, in the three ways of a ship, can denote affirmation (*e.g.* 1.528), denial (*e.g. Aen.* 12.894), grief (*e.g.* Lucr. 2.1164).

spes . . . inanes cf. (TLL 7.1.825.83ff.) 4.578 *nec spe . . . inani*, *Aen.* 10.627 *spes pascis inanis*, 11.49 *spe multum captus inani*, Ov. *Met.* 7.336 *nec spes agitatis inanes.*

527 quid vesanus agat cf. 5.673 *quid, vesane, fremis?*

[51] Korn *ad loc.* notes the possibility of interpreting *ausum* as masc. sing. accusative (with supplied *esse*).

(ridet) quid . . ., quod 'he laughs at the young man's illusory hope, at what he foolishly pursues, that he is demanding the Fleece from a dragon!' *quid* introduces an indirect question, but *quod* is more difficult to explain (Burman read *quid* twice). *quod* here is 'that', see K/S 2.271, referring to *quid* with the subjunctive explaining and defining.

528 'Moreover a voice with foreknowledge of an ancient oracle vexes him, <every moment> when he remembers it'.

urit cf. *Aen.* 1.662 *urit atrox Juno.*

vox praescia cf. (TLL 10.2.821.49ff., 822.60ff.) Ov. *Fast.* 1.538 *praescia lingua* (of Carmentis). Instances of *praescius* applied to other non-living things are *Aen.* 12.452 *corda*, Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.131 *lucos*, Ps.-Quint. *decl.* 4.3 *metus*, Claud. 4(*Pr.Ruf.2*).7f. *fati/ flumina*, *Rapt.* 1.268.

sortis the genitive dependent on *praescia.* Burman recognized the oracle (βάξις) in ARh 3.597ff. ὥς ποτε βάξιν/ λευγαλέην οὗ πατρὸς ἐπέκλυεν Ἠελίοιο/ χρειώ μιν πυκινόν τε δόλον βουλάς τε γενέθλης/ σφωιτέρης ἄτην τε πολύτροπον ἐξαλέασθαι. The Scholiast mentions that already Herodorus (= *F.Gr.Hist.* 31 F9) knew of such an oracle. As usual (232 n., 7 n.) VF supposes the reader to be familiar with ARh. The oracle is paralleled by *Aen.* 7.254 *et veteris Fauni voluit sub pectore sortem.*

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529. cur simul ac Persen illinc sibi moverit atque hinc
530. Thessalicam fortuna ratem, num debitus ista
531. finis agat saevaeque petant iam vellera Parcae.
532. interea quoniam belli pugnaeque propinquae
533. cura prior, fingit placidis fera pectora dictis
534. reddit et haec:

529 The indirect questions introduced by *cur, num* do not depend upon the *sors* of 528, but rather upon *urit*, this implying that he vexes himself with questions.

cur . . ., etc. a line beset with conjectures. **V** gives *simul ac* and *aut hinc*; Langen proposed **cum** *simul ac Persen illinc sibi moverit* **atque** *hinc*, Carrio *cur simul* **aut**, Markland (in Courtney) *cum* **semel aut** *Persen illinc sibi moverit aut hinc.* Shackleton Bailey concluded to *cur simul hinc Persen bello sibi moverit ast hinc*, quoting 6.30 *ac simul hinc Colchos, hinc fundit in aequora Persen.* The latter proposal makes much easier Latin than the reading of **V**, but explaining the corruption

would be difficult.[52] *simul* appears to refer to the threat of a twofold attack; *et . . . et* would suit the situation, but *aut . . . aut* removes the tension. Therefore the best solution seems to retain **V**'s text with Langen's *atque: cur simul ac Persen illinc sibi moverit atque hinc . . .*

The word *atque*: follows *ac* in a small number of cases, TLL *s.v. atque*. Compare further VF 5.634 *et Persen simul et Minyas deposcimus hostes*, 4.223 *et simul Aeacidae simul et Calydonis alumni/ Nelidesque Idasque. cum* (temporal or causal) would make good sense ('wondering whether, now/because Fortune had moved both Perses and the ship, . . .'); on the other hand staccato questions: 'why Fortune did this, whether due fate brought this about and whether . . .'.

sibi (referring to the person who is thinking these phrases): a dative with verbs of movement (like *mittere*, Sz. 100).

530 Thessalicam Jason is *dux Thessalus* (277), and the Argo *Thessalica puppis* (1.380), or *Thessala puppis* (2.445). For *Thessalus* see 277 n.

debitus (finis) cf. 21 *debita fata.*

ista has negative connotations, as in 544, 653, 664, 675.

531 finis agat *finis* refers to the fulfilment of an oracle (*vox praescia sortis*, 528), as in Ov. *Am.* 2.12.13 *ad hanc voti finem*, Liv. 10.32.5 *et quamquam non venit ad finem tam audax inceptum.*

petant . . . Parcae Parcae decide personal fate in 6.693, but play a wider rôle, as here, in 1.501f. *venturaque mundo/ tempora . . . cernunt*, based upon Vergil and Catullus. The word Parcae (accompanying one's lifetime) was once derived from *parere*, cf. Varro *frg.* in Gell. 3.16.10 *Parca . . . a partu nominata*, as well as Walde/Hofmann *s.v.* According to Roscher 3.1402.46ff., popular etymology from *pars* led to identification with Greek Moirai (overseeing general fate); Varro *LL* 6.52 states *ab hoc tempora quod tum pueris constituant Parcae fando, dictum fatum et res fatales.* In *Aen.* 1.22 the Parcae (*sic volvere Parcas*) play their part as Fate bringing about the Punic wars. Yet Palmer 91f. derives the word from *parcere*, giving an euphemistic explanation of 'protectress'.

532 'the whole war and tomorrow's battle in particular'.

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[52] From *bello* to *illinc* is a big leap; one could think of *bello hinc* instead of *bello* (retaining *ac*).

pugnaeque propinquae alliteration, as in 533 *fingit placidis fera pectora*, 534 *tali . . . tempore tectis.*

533 cura prior for the use of *prior* as 'more important' cf. Liv. 8.29.2 *(res) nulla prior potiorque visa est de qua ad senatum referrent*, 2.48.1 *neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere quam ut . . . cum patribus coalescerunt animi plebis.*

fingit placidis fera pectora dictis 'he makes his fierce temper more agreeable with friendly words'; cf. VF 1.39 *fictis dat vultum et pondera dictis*, Sil. 1.441 *atque orando fingere mentes*, 7.385 *atque his praeformat dictis fingitque monendo*, Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.191f. *non tibi certassent iuvenilia fingere corda/ Nestor et . . .*

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534. 'cuperem haud tali vos tempore tectis
535. advenisse meis, quo me gravis adsidet hostis.
536. frater enim – sceptri sic omnibus una cupido –
537. excidium parat et castris me ingentibus urget.
538. quare age cognatas primum defendite sedes
539. nec decus oblati dimiseris advena belli;
540. namque virum trahit ipse chalybs. tum vellera victor
541. tam meritis nec sola dabo'.

534 cuperem haud tali tempore (quo adsidet hostis) cf. *Aen.* 11.303f. *et vellem et fuerat melius, non tempore tali/ cogere concilium, cum muros adsidet hostis.*

535 adsidet hostis see above (534 n.); compare further (TLL 2.878.66ff.) Sil. 9.624 *atque adsidet arces*, 12.453 *adsessos Capuae muros, Ciris* 268 *nostris qui moenibus adsidet hostis.* TLL 2.878.66ff. gives examples of *assidere* ('to besiege') with dative (*Ciris*, Liv., Curt., Fron., Tac.) as well as with accusative (Sall., Verg., Sil. 9.624, 12.453, Plin. *Pan.*).

536 sceptri sic omnibus una cupido one more *sententia*, after 264, 267, 324; others 540, 643 (list in Contino 83–85); cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.433 *sceptri si tanta cupido est.*

537 excidium parat et . . . me . . . urget for *excidium parat* there is no parallel (TLL 5.2.1233.18); for the combination with *urgere*, however, cf. 6.394f. *paribusque Ariasmenus urget/ excidiis.* Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 11.554f. *fraudemque supremam in media iam morte parat.*

me ingentibus once more elision of a monosyllabic pronoun (24 instances; Kösters 37, see 459 n.).

538 age . . . defendite commenting on the singular imperative *age* followed by plural, Langen *ad* 3.311 cites several examples from epic of *age* functioning as an interjection (K/S 1.59f.); cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 2.707 *non est modo verbum imperantis, sed hortantis adverbium.* Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 10.33 *ite age* with Williams, TLL 1.1403.66f., 1.1404.34f.

cognatas . . . sedes 'the country of your family', with sarcastic allusion to the marriage and children of Phrixus, taking up Jason's *proprio de sanguine Phrixi* (476), *ea Phrixo crede dari* (509).

539 nec . . . dimiseris cf. *ne . . . invideris*, 507.

decus oblati . . . belli there is a small number of instances of *decus* with genitive (TLL 5.1.239.72ff.); most of these involve a combination with an adjective or participle with dominant function. This suggests that in the present case, too, the emphasis is upon the word *oblati*, and that the real *decus* is not in the war, but in Aeetes condescending to offer them the opportunity – still more sarcasm. The combination of *decus* with unspecified *bellum* is, however, quite frequent, (TLL 5.1.240.46ff.), in Liv., Sil., Tac., Ov., Curt.

540 virum trahit ipse chalybs as Weitz, Vossius, Heinsius noted, after Homer *Od.* 16.294 = 19.13 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος. For *chalybs* as the material for arms of iron cf. *Aen.* 8.446 *vulnificusque chalybs* and VF 6.342 *letifer chalybs*, 5.141.

541 tam Burman conjectured *tam*, printed by all editors except Bury, Giarratano, Kramer, who preferred the Mss.' *tum.* A priori I feel there is Alexandrinian *préciosité* in repeated *tum*, which is more in VF's line *pace* Burman's *odiosa videri potest repetitio istius particulae.* The two situations of *tum*, however, are different. Normally there is no change in construction in the two *tum* clauses, *e.g. tum voce deos, tum questibus implent* (2.167), *tum colla tumens, tum celsior armis* (2.547). There would be such a change here: *tum vellera dabo victor, tum meritis (vellera) dabo (nec sola vellera dabo).* I prefer *tam. meritis* creates a conditional notion: 'if I am victorious and you have earned it in a high degree (*tam*)'.

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541. contra inscius astus
542. 'ergo nec his nostris deerat labor arduus actis'
543. excipit Aesonides 'et ceu nihil aequore passis
544. additus iste dies? veniant super haec quoque fato
545. bella meo; non hunc parva mihi caede dolorem
546. quasque dedit luet ille moras'.

542 inscius astus Jason is an honest fellow, or, as the Greek Apollonius Rhodius puts in the mouth of Medea (warning Jason against her father's mischief) Ἑλλάδι που τάδε καλά, συνημοσύνας ἀλεγύνειν (ARh 3.1105).

ergo short *-o*, Kösters 86 recognizes five instances of shortened *-o*, as against four with (standard) long *-o* and 18 indeterminate.

deerat I prefer to print *deerat*, conforming to the practice of Mynors's Vergil, since it has to be read with synizesis anyhow; the only exceptions to be read as a bisyllable in TLL 5.1.778.58ff. are Stat. *Theb.* 8.236, 10.236, 11.276 *deest.*

labor arduus according to TLL 2.495.81ff., the combination is not attested before VF (who has in 6.352 *arduus . . . labos*); further Sil. 7.237, Apul. *Mun.* 285.

actis 'deeds'; cf. 507 n.

543 excipit Aesonides cf., with the same rhythm, *Aen.* 9.258 *excipit Ascanius*, where the verb functions as 'answers'. – With regard to *excipit contra* the alternation in the dialogue recalls Stat. *Ach.* 2.85f. *tacuit contentus Ulixes; excipit Oenides.*

543/544 'that fateful day is given to us, as if we had suffered nothing out at sea'.

544 iste dies cf. *ista* (530) and 3.698 *iste dies*, on which they left Hercules behind.

veniant not *veniunt*, nor *venient*; the former a resigned statement, the latter a direct question. The subjunctive is of the type of resentful, reluctant questions (K/S 1.182, 2.508). A question mark after *bella meo* (545) has only been printed by Courtney ('*vel.*') and Ehlers, and a semi-colon or full stop would suit my interpretation better.

super adverb, 'in addition come these wars'; possibly tmesis of *superveniant* (cf. 5.694 *fert . . . circum*). (*super* as a preposition could go

with *haec* or *fato meo*. Because *quoque* refers to *haec* it is slightly more likely that *haec* goes with *bella*, the more so since *super haec* is prosaic (OLD 7); on the other hand *super* + ablative is rare. The adverbial explanation (many examples from epic poetry in OLD 3) is therefore the one more likely).

545 non hunc parva etc. construe *non parva caede mihi hunc dolorem (luet)*.

546 luet cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.1 *delicta maiorum inmeritus lues*, Liv. 5.18.8 *Genucius morte honesta temeritatem luens*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.266 *quod si prisca luunt auctorum crimina gentes.*

ille J.A. Wagner took this as a threat against Aeetes, spoken by Jason "*secum*". Lemaire ("Ed.") thought that Wagner made a lapse; he stated *ullo absque dubio* that *ille* refers to Jason, not to Aeetes. However, if *ille* is Perses (535), then this war comes on top of Jason's troubles, and the one responsible, Perses, will have to pay for it dearly.

moras somehow the tension is for Jason and his men nearly too much, in view of 548 *mora saeva.*

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546. tum Castora mittit,
547. qui ferat Aeaei sociis responsa tyranni.
548. acribus ast illos curis mora saeva trahebat
549. ac simul ut medio viderunt Castora campo
550. crebrior incussit menti pavor. 'o Iovis alma
551. progenies, fare an patriam spes ulla videndi,
552. fare!' omnes; ille in mediis sic orsus Achivis:

546 Castora apparently one of the nine, chosen by lot (326). Castor was not one of the six (instead of nine) comrades of ARh 3.178f.

547 ferat responsa for *responsa ferre* cf. *Aen.* 9.369, 11.227, 6.82, 12.111f. *responsa referre*, Prop. 2.23.4 *verba ferat dominae.* See also 470 n. on *ferre orsa.*

548 ast postponed to the second place, as in 6.197, 8.255, a feature found in only one other author, fourth-century Avienus (TLL 2.944.15ff.). For the postponement, as a Hellenistic feature highly convenient metrically, or in some cases giving special emphasis, cf. Norden Anhang III B3 (p. 402).

trahebat illos '(the grim delay) had kept them in suspense'; *terebat* ('wasted') Heinsius is not necessary. In support of *trahebat* I cite from OLD 18b Liv. 2.40.6 *in hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exsulem te, deinde hostem viderem?*, Tac. *Ann.* 13.33 *P.Celerem . . . quia absolvere nequibat Caesar, traxit, senecta donec mortem obiret*, Ps.Quint. *decl.* 318.11 (Ri. 252) *quid vos diutius traham?*

549 medio campo cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.806 *medio . . . campo*, 2.708 *camporum medio* 6.865 *medio . . . prato*. *medio* adds a visual aspect: somewhere between the town and the camp there is a point where a messenger is first seen, they wait, and are fixed on that point. – Ingenious is the proposal of J.F. Gronovius (*in margine*, ed. Carrio 1565, Library, University of Amsterdam) to read *in* for *ut*, probably combined with a full stop after *campo*, increasing the tension by the short paratactic phrases; but such an alteration is not necessary.

550 crebrior . . . pavor for *pavor* see 5 n.; *crebrior* is used as Praedicativum, the anguish shook them in more rapid succession, exemplified by the repetition of *fare, fare* (552); cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.369 *accumulat crebros turbatrix Fama pavores.*

incussit menti *incessit mentem* ('came over') Schenkl, Baehrens, Mozley; *incussit* (Mss.) *menti* Heinsius for *mentem* Mss. Transitive *incedere* is frequent in Livy according to TLL 7.1.857.36ff.; cf. 7.39.4 *timor incessit animos consilia sua emanasse*, 2.32.1 *timor deinde patres incesserat ne . . .*, etc. Bailey prints the conjecture *incesserat* instead of *incu(s)sit* Mss. in Lucr. 6.1212. One thing, however, pleading strongly for *incussit* ('shook') is *crebrior*, indicating a repeated action. I feel that Heinsius is right in construing *incutere* in general with accusative of the emotion, and dative of the person or his mental power; cf. Liv. 22.42.9 *navalis clades religionem animo incussit*, Lucr. 1.19 *omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem.* Because I take *mens* for the person (and *pavor* for the emotion) I prefer *incussit menti.*

alma (progenies) (Castor): *alma* is (TLL 1.1703.39ff.) an epithet of various goddesses; masculine *almus* is applied to Sol, Priapus, Jupiter, Triptolemus, Neptune, Caesar, Augustus. Compare further Stat. *Silv* 4.7.29f. *quod alma/ prole fundasti vacuos penates.*

551 fare an with indirect question (TLL 2.8.56) with forms of *qui*; here the only case with *an*, on the analogy, however, of *dic an* in Pl., Ter., Cic., Sen. (TLL 2.7.34ff.).

patriam spes ulla videndi (sc. sit) cf. *Aen.* 2.137 *nec mihi iam patriam spes ulla videndi.*

552 omnes ellipse of a verb of saying; cf. 253 n.

ille in mediis sic orsus Achivis cf. *Aen.* 1.242f. *Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis/. . .*

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553. 'nec ferus Aeetes, ut fama, nec aurea nobis
554. terga negat, bello interea sed pressus iniquo
555. auxilium petit: armatos dux protinus omnes
556. accelerare iubet, longo nam tuta recessu
557. puppis et apposita fluvius defenditur urbe'.

553 ferus Aeetes, ut fama cf. 1.43 *hunc ferus Aeetes (. . . mactat)*; now Pelias likes characterizing people as *ferus*, also in 1.716 he applies the word to Jason abducting his son Acastus. The word further occurs in connection with the Scythian Gesander as well as the *caeruleus Boreas*, the North (6.287, 303, 7.563). For *ferus* in the sense of 'barbarian' cf. (TLL 6.1.603.73ff.) Cic. *Inv.* 1.2 *ex feris et immanibus mites reddidit et mansuetos* (about primitive men), *S.Rosc.* 74 (they said) *hunc hominem ferum atque agrestem fuisse, numquam cum homine quoquam collocutum esse*, Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.156 *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*; Britons, Cilicians, Getae are *feri* in Horace and Ovid. – For the reputation of Aeetes see 506 n.

554 sed postponed to the third position, which is remarkable; cf. 548 n., *ast.* (An extreme case is 2.150 where *sed* has been moved to the fifth position.)

iniquo thrice ending the line in the *Aeneid*; once more in VF 6.322 *congressu . . . iniquo.* The subjective colouring of *iniquus* indicates that by now the Argonauts have joined forces with Aeetes, who feels in his right against Perses.

555 protinus omnes ending the hexameter in *Aen.* 9.149 (also two additional cases, *protinus omne, protinus omnia* with synizesis), as well as VF 6.388, 8.325. The word *protinus* is a favourite of VF: frequency 30 times, as against 18 in the *Aeneid*, 31 in the *Thebaid.*

556 accelerare not a very common use; in the same way following *iubere* and about troops in Tac. *Hist.* 2.100.5. Five times in Vergil, four times in VF.

longo nam tuta recessu (puppis) 'for the ship <is> safe in its distant isolation'. For *longo . . . recessu* cf. Man. 2.84; compare further *Aen.* 8.193 *vasto . . . recessu.*

557 apposita fluvius . . . urbe probably the text means that in the wide alluvial plain the ship is pretty safe; the only threat would come down the river, and the town on the river prevents access to its berth. Heinsius proposed *fluvio*: the ship was protected by its isolation as well as by the town situated on the river. Because Perses has prepared a siege of the town, however, *recessu* must indicate a long distance from the town and the enemy troops. Therefore, I prefer to let the text stand as it is: the ship is protected by its isolation and the river by the proximity of the town. Pius's *opposita* appears equally unnecessary.

*

Haud mora. prosiliunt quos nec Rhipaea iuventus
quos nec Hiber aut tota suis Aurora pharetris
sustineat. stetit explicito prius agmine pubes
expertique simul si tela artusque sequantur.

558 haud mora. prosiliunt cf. *Aen.* 5.140 *haud mora, prosiluere, . . .,* Stat. *Theb.* 11.403f. *iamque . . . Furiis hortantibus . . ./ prosiliunt. haud mora* starts a line seven times in Vergil (only once internally); cf. VF 5.60. *mora* appropriately refers to *mora* in 548 (Shelton 318).

Rhipaea or *Ripaea*, or *Riphaea* (from Ῥῖπαι); for the orthography cf. Poortvliet *ad* 2.516, opting for *Riph-*. A name for mythical mountains in the far North as in Strabo 7.3.1 = C295 τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη . . . μυθοποιοῦντες, at the same latitude as Thule (Plin. *Nat.* 6.219), *in quo dies continuarentur, ut diximus, noctesque per vices.* Compare further Hippocr. *Aer* 19 κεῖται <Σκυθία> γὰρ ὑπ<ὸ> . . . τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ῥιπαίοισιν, Plin. *Nat.* 6.15 *iuga Caucasi ad Ripaeos montes torquentur.* The source of the Tanais was there according to *Nat.* 4.78, Mela 1.115, with which can be compared ARh 4.286ff. πηγαὶ (of the Ister) γὰρ ὑπὲρ πνοιῆς βορέαο/ Ῥιπαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσιν ἀπόπροθι μορμύρουσιν.

559 Hiber cf. 166 n.; *Hiberia* in 604.

tota suis Aurora pharetris alludes to Parthians with their arrows. In Vespasian's period interest in Iberians and Parthians was heightened by their request for help against the Alani (refused by the

emperor, Dio 65.15.3, Suet. *Dom.* 2.2, in spite of their support against Jerusalem (Suet. *Ves.* 6.4) with 40.000 bowmen). See Tac. *Ann.* 12.44ff. for an instance of a war in which the two peoples as well as the Armenians became involved during VF's lifetime.

With regard to *Aurora* for 'the east', cf. *Aen.* 8.686 *victor ab Aurorae populis*, 7.605f. *seu tendere ad Indos/ Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.279 *atque hospes iam tunc Aurora colebat*, Opt. Porf. *Carm.* 14.20. *Aurorae miles.*

560 stetit . . . prius . . . pubes cf. *Aen.* 5.381 *Aeneae stetit ante pedes* (Dares). The perfect tense paints the instantaneous result. *prius* relates to *explicito*. 'As soon as an extended line was formed, there the boys stood, . . .'.

stetit explicito . . . agmine pubes *explicitus* replaces *explicatus* after Cicero's time; the verb in regular military use, as in (TLL 5.2.1726.16ff.) Verg. *G.* 2.280f. *explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto/ derectaeque acies*, Liv. 2.59.7 *cum agmen e castris explicaretur*, 2.46.3 *vix explicandi ordinis spatium*, Luc. 6.9 *(ter) explicuit turmas*, Tac. *Ann.* 13.384 *ad explicandas equitum turmas.*

561 experti (sc. sunt) . . . si 2.51 *an non experti <sumus>?* For *experiri si* TLL gives only the following parallels: Cic. *Phil.* 9.2 *si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset, experietur*, *Div.* 2.26 *experiamurque, si possimus cornua commovere*; conj. Gercke in Sen. *Nat.* 6.4.2 *experiri (si) aetas aliquid nobis . . . adiecerit.*

tela artusque sequantur 'and in the same process they investigated whether arm and limbs <still> obeyed <what they were told>'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.212ff. *subito cum funere Tiphys/ destituit, non arma sequi, non ferre videtur/ remus aquas.*

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562. nec quisquam freta nec patrias iam respicit urbes,
563. sed magis ad praesens itur decus. incita cristas
564. aura quatit, variis floret via discolor armis
565. qualis ab Oceano nitidum chorus aethera vestit,
566. qualibus aut surgens nox aurea cingitur astris.

562 nec patrias . . . respicit urbes in 551 their only care is whether they will see their country again; now, ready for action, all such troubles are forgotten and from interest in seafaring they are

on fire again for terrestrial tactics. Compare also *Aen.* 4.225 *fatisque datas non respicit urbes*, reproaching Aeneas with neglect of his mission, quite unlike the present situation; VF likes giving a twist to such borrowing.

563 ad praesens . . . decus cf. Curt. 6.1.8 *Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones praesentia decora intuebantur.*

itur for the impersonal passive cf. 219 n. (*ventum est*); the collective enthusiasm is stressed. Compare further *Aen.* 12.528 *nunc totis in vulnera viribus itur.*

incita (aura) 'a rushing wind'; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.492 *incita, id est cum impetu veniens.* On the prosody see 576 n. (*concitus*).

cristas in the *Aeneid* from Homer (λόφος), the ancient device to break the force of a blow on the helmet.

564 'the way is multicoloured by shining arms as a field is with flowers'.

quatit cf. *Aen.* 12.370 *et cristam adverso curru quatit aura volantem.*

variis . . . floret armis cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.59f. *variis plurima floret/ purpura picta modis. florere* for 'to shine' also in *Aen.* 7.804 = 11.433 *florentis aere catervas*; cf. Fordyce *ad loc.* with several parallels in Latin as well as in Greek. The verb *florere*, literally to be applied to a field, seems quite appropriate for a way. Compare also *Aen.* 8.685 *variisque Antonius armis*, where the words imply criticism of Antony's barbarian allies; this can never be meant in the context of the Argonauts. See 562 n.

via discolor *discolor* is peculiar with *via*; used by Plin. *Nat.* 10.3 for tropical birds, by Stat. *Theb.* 9.685 for a tiger. Summers compared Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 24 ἡ ποικιλείμων νὺξ.

565/566 'As the choir <of stars coming> from the Ocean clothes the splendent aether, **or** (reading *aut surgens*) as the golden night coming up <from the Ocean> is girded with stars', (so numerous or/and shining are the glimmers on their arms . . .), a classic case of 'Doppelfassung' of one and the same thing, 'the sheen on their arms is multi-glimmered as the stars'. Several scholars take this doublet as proof that VF did not finish the redaction of the work: one of the lines was to be selected in the final revision (Bulaeus, Thilo XXVI, Schenkl 289, Courtney p. V, Poortvliet 1991:37). Schenkl thinks 565 would have won, Langen and Poortvliet bet on 566. I agree with Schenkl

that 565 is the more recherché version, but I do not believe that one of the verses was a spare one. Compare Ov. *Met.* 6.15f. *deseruere sui nymphae vineta Timoli,/ deseruere suas nymphae Pactolides undas*, to understand which one must realize that the river Pactolus has its source on the mountain T(i)molus. The asyndeton of Ehlers's text, however, is suspect; see 566 n. The two lines are interlinked: *ab Oceano* depends on *surgens*, and *astrorum* is understood in 565 from *astris* in 566.[53]

565 chorus (*corus* **V**) used for the stars in Tib. 2.1.87f. *currumque sequuntur/ matris* (Night) *lascivo sidera fulva choro*; compare the parallels quoted *ad* 46 *Pleiadumque globos*, or Ov. *Met.* 11.97f. *et iam stellarum sublime coegerat agmen/ Lucifer.*

vestit cf. *Aen.* 6.640f. *largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit/ purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt*; Vergil has the aether 'clothing' the fields in light, whereas in VF the aether itself is clothed in stars. Langen referred to εἷμα, root of ποικιλείμων, as quoted from Aesch. in 564 n.

566 qualibus . . . astris the line framed by substantive and adjective; cf. 2, 17, 55, 619. (Contino 76). For the repetition of *qualis* cf. Catul. 64.336 *qualis adest Thetis, qualis concordia Peleo.*

aut surgens to avoid the asyndeton Castiglioni 412 conjectured *aut surgens*, which was supported by Ehlers 1970:131, though not kept in his edition (*adsurgens* Mss.). In my opinion the addition of a coordinator cannot be avoided, even if there are alternatives: *qualisve* Bury, *qualis et* Bulaeus. *surgere* is usual for the rising of sun and moon, morning and evening-star, the constellations, autumn, as well as *dies* (*Aen.* 3.588 *dies surgebat*, Sil. 9.183 *dies surrexerit*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.629 *lux surrexerit*, Sen. *Thy.* 823f. *tenebrasque iubet surgere nondum/ nocte parata.* By contrast *adsurgere* is unusual in this connection (TLL 2.939.25), only *Aen.* 1.535 of Orion (Willams *ad loc.* denies that *adsurgens* there means 'the rising of the constellation'), Germ. *Arat.* 217 of the constellation Pegasus and 494 of three parts of a tropic, translating περιτέλλεται 'turns <upward>'; or further Avien. *Arat.* 1291 *Tauro . . . adsurgente*, Mart.Cap. 8.818 = 821 (*parallelus*) *adsurgit.* I recommend the slight alteration to *aut surgens.*

nox aurea In Vergil *nox* is only *atra, obscura,* (*intempesta, umida*);

[53] Familiar as the expression is to us moderns on the basis of Abraham's progeny in *Gen.* 22.17 *multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas caeli*, from antiquity I have found in TLL no parallels where the frequency of people is compared to the stars.

VF was the first (Kleywegt 1986:2476) to speak of a *clear* night, in 1.416, 4.82 *clarae noctis*, 5.70f. *candida nox*. TLL 2.1491.37ff. gives *aureus* for *sidera, astra, aether, stellantis regia coeli* (*Aen.* 7.210), *lumina*, plus various constellations in Man. as well as Sen. *Her.F.* Apparently enallage is involved, or *aurea* is used proleptically, as the night becomes bright through the stars. There was a classic description of heaven or night with stars in Enn. *Ann.* S27 = V29 and S145 = V159 *caelum . . . stellis fulgentibus aptum*, S348 = V339 *hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta*; similarly Ov. *Met.* 11.309 *nox caelum sparserat astris.*

cingitur cf. Octav. 389 *orbemque Phoebes, astra quem cingunt vaga*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.36f. *vaga cingitur astris/ Luna.* The verb can also be interpreted as a medial form, as it is in Pl. *Am.* 308 *cingitur; certe expedit se.* Although Statius's text seems to be more logical and less poetic, and as such could have been the model, it looks more like an interesting instance of Statius rephrasing VF, because *Silv.* 1.4 is supposed to have been written after 89 (Frère).

f3. *At the banquet, 567–618*

Aeetes, however wroth he feels towards his new allies, invites them to a banquet. The heroes on the Colchian side are reviewed: the Argonauts, as well as Carmeius, Aron, Campesus, Odrussa, Iaxartes, Latagus, Choaspes, Euryale. All pray to survive the battle. Giving a catalogue by having the heroes pointed out one after the other goes back to the 'teichoscopy', of which the model is Hom. *Il.* 3.161ff. A difference is that in the present case both speakers review only their own side (one more addition is Absyrtus in VF 6.171f.). The opponents come in 6.42–170.

See further Adamietz 79–80, Lüthje 231–232, Shelton 320–322. In ARh a guest-meal is organized before the guests explain why they came (3.299–303). Shreeves 162f. has interesting observations about the names used (cf. 612 n.).

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567. illos Sole satus tacita maestissimus ira
568. miratur temere adsumptos nec talia mallet
569. robora quam medios hostem subiisse penates.
570. interea laeto patitur convivia vultu
571. et iustum Aesoniden magno cratere lacessit
572. nunc sibi monstrantem natos Iovis oraque iuxta
573. Aeacidum, nunc ingentes Calydonis alumnos.

567ff. '<After their arrival> Aeetes holds them in awe, grim in his suppressed rage: he has too rashly engaged them, he would rather an enemy had crept into the midst of his house than such bruisers'. 568 is sophisticated, saying what he would *not* prefer, meaning that he would rather have to deal with an enemy than with such allies.

tacita maestissimus ira *maestissimus*, used of people confronted with the sea-monster in 2.493, with Amycus in 4.183, indicates how grim the situation is in Aeetes's eyes. For *tacita ira* cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.623 *tacitaque exaestuat ira*; according to TLL 7.2.367.76f., in addition to Ov. *Met.* just quoted, the combination occurs *saepe.* Bömer remarks dryly '*saepe*, that is, not in classical poetry'.

568 temere in view of its tribrachic nature not frequent in epic poetry, dependent on elision of the last syllable as it is: thrice in VF, twice in the *Aeneid*, twice in the *Thebaid.*

569 medios . . . subisse penates *subire* with persons may be translated as 'to go for, attack', as in 6.251 *et trunco medium subit Ocrea ligno.* In the present case the sense will rather be 'to approach'; cf. *Aen.* 3.512 *necdum orbem medium nox Horis acta subibat.*

570 patitur Langen notes the psychological manner of speaking.

laeto . . . vultu I think *laeto . . . vultu* is the only possibility, despite *cultu* Mss; cf. (TLL 7.2.886.52f.) Cic. *Tusc.* 1.100 *voltu hilari atque laeto*, *Att.* 8.9.2 = Sh.B. 188.2 *laeto vultu gratulantis*, Liv. 30.32.11 *voltuque ita laeto.* Compare further VF 7.512 *ora . . . laeta* based upon ARh 3.1024 φαιδρῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι μειδιόωντες. *cultus* is used in VF for clothes in 5.354, as in Tac. *Ann.* 14.13.2 *festo cultu senatum* or Sen. *Tro.* 883 *depone cultus squalidos, festos cape.* Since here it can only refer to the king's face (or behaviour), most editors have printed *vultu* (Pius); only Ehlers (hesitatingly) and Kramer kept *cultu.*

571 iustum conjectured because *iuxta* Mss. is used again in the next line. The situation does not consist of a row of people described *iuxta . . . iuxta . . . iuxta . . .*, but the first *iuxta* would (rather unnecessarily) explain that Jason is sitting next to Aeetes, while the *iuxta* of 572 serves in Jason's description of his own men: the Twins, next to them the Aeacids, etc. Therefore I venture to suggest that it might have been originally *iustum*, that is, *iustus* in the wide sense of Cic. *Off.* 1.20 *iustitia, in qua virtus est splendor maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.1 *iustum et tenacem propositi virum*, *Aen.* 2.426f. *Rhipeus, iustissimus unus/ qui fuit in Teucris*, Ov. *Met.* 8.704f. *iuste senex (Philemon)*

et femina coniuge iusto/ digna. In addition *iustus* as 'respectable' (*inscius astus* VF 5.541) would underline the contrast with the guiles of Aeetes. Compare *bonus Aeneas, Aen.* 5.770, 11.106.

cratere lacessit 'forces upon good Aesonides toast <after toast> by <way of putting before him wine from another> large bowl'; cf. (TLL 7.2.832.48ff.) Sen. *Dial.* 4.33.6 = *Ira2*.33.6 *propinationibus senem crebris . . . lacessebat.* (The wine comes *from* the mixing-bowl that is not used itself for drinking). Here there may be influence of Herodot. 6.84, the history of Cleomenes, . . . Κλεομένεα, Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντα μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. Lüthje 231 emphasizes the barbarian trait, since Cyzicus, the fellow Greek, showed at the banquet in 2.655 a fine goblet. Consequently Jason offered his assistance against the Pelasgians. Harmony versus harshness.

572 sibi 'to him', Aeetes, subject of *lacessit.*

573 oraque iuxta (Aeacidum) 'the faces of the Aeacids sitting next <to them>'; for adverbs used attributively cf. 578 *procul.*

Aeacidum Peleus (son of Aeacus Hom. *Il.* 16.15), and Telamon (son of Aeacus ARh 1.1330).

Calydonis . . . alumnos Tydeus and Meleager (cf. 4.223 *Calydonis alumni*), half-brothers, sons of Oeneus, king of Calydon. Schenkl 357 proposed to write *Calydonos* with **V** and **L**, but this would be purism in view of *Calydonis* in Ovid (*Met.* 8.495, *Ep.* 20.101) and the list of similar words in Vergil (Memnonis, Strymonis, Dolonis, Sarpedonis, Lycaonis), without any *varia lectio.* Only Kramer followed Schenkl. The corruption in the Mss. may have been influenced by the ending *-os* of *alumnos.*

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574. audit et Alciden infando errore relictum
575. defletosque duces terraeque marisque labores.
576. ipse autem tantis concita furoribus arma
577. expetit Aesonides et amicos ordine reges.

574 audit while reading *audit Alciden . . . relictum defletosque duces,* one is tempted (and so probably also was the Roman reader) to supply *esse.* As soon as the object *labores* follows, however, the phrase turns out to be of the type *audire* with (personal) object, 'to hear about someone' (or 'something'). VF has the same usage in 4.737 *auditis laetatus Achivis.* In the present case *audire* follows *monstrantem* (572); first,

they speak about persons they can see, then about the absent ones, from which it is a small step to their adventures.

infando errore *error* can have either of two senses already exemplified, 5.115 'peregrination', 5.455 'perplexity'. *infandus* rather points to 'mistake', but alternatively, in *error* the wandering of Hercules around the Pontus may be implied as well. The ablative may be regarded as an ablative of result ('so as to have to make a peregrination beyond belief'; cf., from Hillen 31ff., VF 6.745 *haec dicens atro nebulam diffundit amictu*). In spite of this a causal ablative with *relictum*, ('left, in incredible folly') is very attractive. (For the story, cf. VF 3.611–725). If a choice has to be made, I prefer the latter concept.

575 defletosque duces alliteration; cf. 217 n. The *duces* are Idmon and Tiphys. Their names were *defleta* in 60. This reference to the first part of Book 5 creates a unifying element. *duces* can be 'guides', because Tiphys was navigator and Idmon *vates*; *dux* (normally referring to Jason) is 'guide' in 5.395, 399, 4.554. *duces* may also just mean 'the heroes, the princes', as in 1.262 *stupet (Achilles) in ducibus*, 2.643 *cum tales intrasse duces*).

terraeque marisque for *-que* . . . *-que* (as in 388, 493) see nn. *ad loc.* With *terra* and *mare* the combination is not as usual as one would expect in view of their frequent gemination; however, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.96 *terraeque marisque.*

labores compare 1.172 *quis pudor heu nostros tibi tunc audire labores* (Jason to Acastus), where *labores* has the flavour of 'feats'. Simply *audit* . . . *defletos duces (et) labores* would probably limit the *labores* to those of the lost comrades (Plin. Min. *Ep.* 3.1.6 *quae facta, quos viros audias*). The stately phrase *terraeque marisque* implies rather the whole expedition.

576 Langen compares the teichoscopy of Hom. *Il.* 3.161–244; see also Stat. *Theb.* 7.243ff. (with Smolenaars 148f.), where a 'catalogue' is provided by way of question and answer. The "Heldenschau" *Aen.* 6.756–886 has also been in the author's mind (cf. 578 n.).

autem cf. 128, 399 nn.

concita with long *-i*. When for comparison the prosody of related words is reviewed, in *incitus* the *-i* is always short; in *excitus -i* is consistently short, except for a few instances in very late Latin (TLL 5.2.1245.62). *concitus* with long *-i* occurs in Lucr., Luc. once each (TLL 4.36.30ff.), VF has it twice (the other instance 2.460); *concitus* with short *-i* is predominant (seven instances in VF).

arma 'the troops', as in Luc. 6.151 *(pavor) cunctis ignotus Caesaris armis.*

577 'Aeson's son has many a question about the allied kings and their troops, one after the other'.

expetit he 'asks about', an isolated use of *expetere* (TLL 5.2.1695.66, OLD 1c)

(arma) et reges hendiadys, 'the kings and their troops'. Once again, VF tries to speak in a refined, unnatural way; the reader meeting *arma expetit* may think of hostilities. Possibly the manner of expression in 574, 576, 577, depicts the hesitant beginning of 'diplomatic conversation', in which words follow each other in a studied way, seemingly polite, masking real intentions, and only giving itself away in the very unnaturalness of the word order.

ordine 'one after the other'; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 12.91 *praecipua bonitas . . . tenuissimis partibus . . ., secunda proximis . . ., atque ita ordine.*

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578. 'quis procul ille virum nobis, quem balteus asper
579. subligat et stricto stat proximus armiger arcu
580. ceu pugnam paret et positas confundere mensas?'
581. contra flammigeri proles Perseia Solis
582. 'quem rogitas, Carmeius.' ait. 'mos comminus arma
583. semper habere viro, semper meminisse pharetrae'.

578/579 'who of all people is that man far away wearing that rough sword-baldric, and next to whom a squire stands with ready bow?'

578 quis . . . virum cf. *Aen.* 6.863 *quis, pater, ille virum qui sic comitatur euntem? quis virum* by analogy with Homeric τίς θεῶν, τίς ἀνθρώπων, τίς ἀνδρῶν, *e.g.*, respectively, *Il.* 18.182, *Od.* 3.113, 1.170.

procul ille . . . nobis for *procul ille* cf. *Aen.* 6.808f. *quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae/ sacra ferens?* The word *nobis* came under fire from no less a scholar than Heinsius, who thought highly ("*nescio an alibi conjectura felicius mihi in Valerio successerit*") of the following conjecture: *quis procul ille, humerum nodis cui balteus asper.* Of all this Langen retained *nodis*, supported by Kramer and Mozley. The best argument for *nodis* would be that *asper* asks for an ablative complement, as in the examples of the next note.

However, *nobis* can be read as grammatically going with *procul.* I prefer to consider *nobis* as an ethic dative. Adverbs like *procul* can be

used attributively; cf. Sz. 171, K/S 1.218, Langen *ad* 3.362 *inde dies*, and as one example Catul. 4.10 *iste post phaselus*.

balteus asper cf. (TLL 2.809.10ff.) Claud. 22 (*Stil.2*).88f. *cingula bacis/ aspera*, Ov. *Met.* 12.235f. *signis exstantibus asper/ antiquus crater*, Sen. *Hipp.* 899 *regale parvis asperum signis ebur*, Sil. 2.432 *aspera signis* (a shield), Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.38 *signis . . . torus asper eburnis*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.723 (*clipeus*) *qui pulcher signis auroque asperrimus*.

579 (quem) subligat cf. *Aen.* 8.459 *tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem* (hanging from the baldric); or with *ligare* VF 4.94 (with reference to the Sun) *ligat hanc (loricam) . . ./ balteus* (= the rainbow). With a person as object it is unexpected, but as such suits VF's style.

stricto . . . arcu OLD *stringere* has a separate section 'to string a bow', as in VF 3.524 *stricta myrtus habena*. However, in view of numerous examples with other weapons (*mucrones, ferrum, secures, dentes unci, ungues, manus*!), it is more likely that here *stringere* must be interpreted as 'to unsheath, bare a weapon, to have it ready'.

(quem) proximus for *proximus* or *propior* with accusative, as in K/S 1.316; cf., *e.g.*, Pl. *Poen.* 1120 *qui te proximus est.* More frequently *proximus* is used as an adjective followed by the dative case. In view of some other reminiscences of *Aen.6* (see 578 *quis virum* n.) *proximus* could be considered to be derived from *Aen.* 6.767 *proximus ille Procas* <*sc. est*>, but the difference in construction seems against this.

armiger in Pl., Cic., Verg., Liv., Ov., Stat., Sil., Tac., also in 6.694 as 'squire'; in 1.156, 2.416 *Iovis armiger* is an eagle.

580 pugnam paret et positas confundere mensas alliteration; cf. 217 n. or, with interspersed word, 219 n. *parere* is used zeugmatically with direct object as well as with infinitive with object; similar cases are 1.499 *coepta tuens tantamque operis consurgere molem*, 6.731f. *nobis . . . parabas/ . . . auxilia et tantas coniungere vires.* The scene among these barbarians is strongly reminiscent of the Centaurs disturbing the Lapythian banquet in Ovid (*Met.* 12.210ff.) 12.211f. *positis ex ordine mensis/ . . . discumbere*, 12.222 *protinus eversae turbant convivia mensae.*

confundere cf. *Aen.* 12.619 *confusae sonus urbis*, Suet. *Cl.* 33.2 *ne lusus confunderetur*, Petr. 132.5 *quis dominae hilaritatem confuderit*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.17 *Oedipodae confusa domus.*

581 flammigeri . . . Solis used (before Avienus) of the Sun and its chariot in Luc. 1.48 *flammigeros Phoebi . . . currus*, 1.415 *flammiger . . . Titan*, or the heavens, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.119, 3.1.181, as well as of an

eagle, Stat. *Theb.* 8.675. In Avienus and later several times TLL 6.1.873.13ff.). – Compare *flammifer*, already in Ennius *Scaen.* 29 and applied to the fire-breathing bulls in VF 6.434, 7.185, 233, *Olympus* ('heaven') in 1.4 (TLL 6.1.872.64). For words ending in *-fer* or *ger* cf. 43 n., 137 n., Korn *ad* 4.139.

proles Perseia Aeetes, son of the Sun and Perse, according to Hyg. *Fab. pr.* 36 *ex Sole et Persa, Circe, Pasiphae, Aeeta, Perses.* For Perse cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.136ff. Κίρκη ἐυπλόκαμος.../ αὐτοκασιγνήτη... Αἰήταο·/ ἄμφω.../ μητρός τ' ἐκ Πέρσης, τὴν 'Ωκεανὸς τέκε παῖδα, Hes. *Theog.* 956f. 'Ηελίῳ δ' ἀκάμαντι τέκεν κλυτὸς 'Ωκεανίνη/ Περσηὶς (variant of the name) Κίρκην τε καὶ Αἰήτην βασιλῆα, Scholiast *ad* ARh 3.200 ἱστορεῖ δὲ Διονύσιος 'Ηλίου ὅτι ἐγένοντο Περσεὺς καὶ Αἰήτης (more below: Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν α' τῶν 'Αργοναυτικῶν).

582 quem rogitas, Carmeius (sc. est) *rogitare* with direct personal object, 'to seek information about'. This is the only example given in OLD 2b; cf. *expetit... reges* (577).

Carmeius one of the names with an oriental association; *Carmei* are only known from Plin. *Nat.* 6.157 (on Arabia) *Minaei...*, *quorum Carmei* (TLL Onom. *s.v.*). Pliny may in fact have been a source for VF, as he was for Statius (Smolenaars 122).

mos... arma/ (habere) for the ethnographical *topos* of depicting the allies of Aeetes as barbarians, bearing weapons everywhere, compare Tac. *Ger.* 13.1 *nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt*, Thucid. 1.6.1 ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο (the old Greeks), ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι , with Norden 1922:140/141.

comminus arma for the prosody cf. *comminus armis* ending the line in *Aen.* 7.553, 12.890.

viro rather stilted *viro* (cf. *virum*, 592), to avoid simple *him* (*ei*).

meminisse pharetrae 'to pay heed to, be mindful of, his quiver'. *meminisse* in the same metrical position is found in VF 1.773, 2.81, 3.580; cf. in connexion with weapons Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.57 *haec clavae meminit manus.*

584–586 these lines of the early editions were transposed between 604 and 605 by Meyncke (who mentions 595/596 as an alternative location); he was followed by Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Mozley, Ehlers. Yet Thilo, Bury, Giarratano, Kramer, Courtney, kept the verses where they are in the Mss. For sheer reasons of logic, I think

both that they are out of place after 583, and that Meyncke's judgement was excellent.

*

587. 'illum' ait Aesonides 'pariter refer, horrida signis
588. cui chlamys et multa spirat coma flexilis aura.'
589. respicit Aeetes atque hunc quoque nomine reddit:
590. 'dives Aron. croceos sic illius omnis odores
591. iactat eques, cunctis sic est coma culta maniplis;
592. sed ne sperne virum et comptis diffide capillis.

587 illum . . . refer *brevitas* again, presently followed by 589 *hunc reddit*, both noted by Kleywegt 1986b:2455 because of the unusual construction with an object; there are some parallels, Liv. 34.33.2 *referre deinde nominatim tyrannos coepit*, Sen. *Ben.* 7.8.2 *paulo ante Demetrium rettuli.*

horrida signis . . . (chlamys) for *signa* in the sense of (engraved or) embroidered figures cf. (from TLL 6.3.2991.81ff.) Lucr. 5.1428 *(veste) . . . auro signisque ingentibus apta*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.540 *signis perfectam auroque nitentem (pateram)*, Sil. 2.432, Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.38 (both quoted in 578 n. *balteus asper*). The *chlamys horrida* of Stat. *Theb.* 4.235 is not 'rough' but 'horrible, uncouth'; nothing but a dirty cloak.

588 spirat coma as in Verg. *G.* 4.417 *dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura*; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.211 *semper odoratis spirabunt floribus arae.* The same motif is found in Luc. 3.238 *et qui tinguentes croceo medicamine crinem . . .* (allies of Pompey from India).

coma flexilis more often *flexilis* means 'flexible', but here the sense of 'curled' would fit.

589 respicit 'looks around', in Vergil four times opening the line, one of these *Aen.* 6.548 *respicit Aeneas* (same rhythm); in VF five times in the opening position.

hunc . . . nomine reddit 'makes mention of him by name', on the analogy of *nomine dicere*, frequent in the *Aeneid.* Different is *Aen.* 6.768f. *et qui te nomine reddet/ Silvius Aeneas*, 'who will once again make use of your name'.

590 Aron The name Aron is unlikely to be derived from a hamlet on the Dalmatian coast (*Aronia*; cf. RE 2.1215), as Shreeves 163 would have it. In 6.524–541 Absyrtus is accompanied by Aron, who is compared to Lucifer (he throws a lance killing one of the adversaries

(called Armes); in 6.524 Aron has long *-on* before *horrentia*.[54] Aron ("Αρων) is used for Latin Aruns by Diod.Sic.

croceos odores after Verg. *G.* 1.56 *croceos ut Tmolus odores (mittit)*; cf. *croceo* in Luc. 3.238 (quoted in 588 n.).

591 iactat as first word of the line, though not of the phrase, also in Verg. *G.* 1.103; in VF once elsewhere first in the hexameter, though not in the phrase, in 2.341. – *iactat . . . odores* is not yet such an excentric poeticism as Lucr. 4.1054 *mulier tot iactans e corpore amorum.*

eques twice in Vergil, in both cases second word in the line; also in the five instances in VF second word of the hexameter, with 5.515 as the exception.

cunctis a conjecture of Bentley (in a letter to Burman, published by M. Haupt, Analecta, *Hermes* 3 (1869) 212) emending *unctis* **C** (metrically not correct); **V** and **L** have *iunctis*. *iactat eques iunctis* would form a nice alliteration of *-ia/iu*; however, with *cunctis* a different alliteration is gained: *cunctis . . . coma culta.* I feel the use of *iunctis* is too factual and unrhetorical; against *unctis* **C** is the further argument that the hair already recur in three consecutive lines; *cunctis maniplis* repeats *omnis eques*, and as such is more in line with VF's style.

592 ne sperne virum cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.16 *ne dulcis amores/ sperne puer neque tu choreas. ne* followed by imperative is archaic, occurs first in classical poetry in Catullus, is unusual in prose (four cases in Sz. 340); cf. K/S 1.202, Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.11, Fordyce *ad Aen.* 7.96, Pinkster 201, Vairel-Carron 263. *virum* is primarily = *eum*, but with overtones of 'a real man'.

comptis diffide capillis *diffidere* may convey here the sense of 'don't pay too much attention to' (developed from *non credere*). It is tempting to take *ne* with *sperne* as well as with *diffide* ('do not distrust . . .'), but in that case there would stand *neu* in stead of *ne.*

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593. Campesus hic spoliis in tigridis. ille profundo
594. incumbens Odrussa mero; viden alta comantem
595. pectora et ingenti turbantem pocula barba?'

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[54] It would be marvellous if VF for once had made a mistake in his Greek, and used Aron for modern *Arum*, 'lord-and-ladies', "Αρον in Greek. If ever there was a beautifully mimetic plant where a *coiffure* is involved, with exotic airs, it is one of the Araceae.

596. hinc et Iaxarten dictis stupet hospes acerbis
597. immodicum linguaeque gravem, cui nulla minanti
598. non superum, non praesentis reverentia belli.

593 Campesus a place in Cappadocia is called Κάμπαι. If Campesus is one more name of oriental origin, this appears in the first instance almost the only geographical clue available. However, a mythical monster was the Καμπή (cf. W. Kroll, RE 10.1842), mentioned in Apollod. 1.2.1 as the guard of the Cyclopes; when Zeus needed the thunderbolt, he wanted the Cyclopes to construct one, and first killed the Campe. Nonnus *Dionys.* 18.236–264 gives a fantastic description of this monster, in the midst of the *Indian* war. Derivation from the Campe, though only a fictitious name for ostentation, is possibly a reasonable etymology. – In 6.243 Campesus recurs, to fall on the battlefield, *impacta . . . quercu tollitur.*

spoliis in tigridis *spolia* used for the skin of an animal, as in Lucr. 5.954 *uti pellibus et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum,* Ov. *Ep.* 4.100 *ferae spolium.* The skin of a tiger strongly recalls young Camilla in *Aen.* 11.576f. *pro longae tegmine pallae/ tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.* A warrior clad in a wild animal's skin would also allude to Hercules, mentioned in 1.263, 3.720, 8.126.

profundo (mero) cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.261ff. *gelida non saevius Ossa/ luxuriant Lapitharum epulae, si quando profundo/ Nubigenae* (Centaurs) *caluere mero: vix primus ab ira/ pallor, et impulsis surgunt ad proelia mensis,* 5.187f. *ditibus indulgent epulis vacuantque profundo/ aurum immane mero* (the Thracians), *Silv.* 3.3.107 *numquam laesa profundo/ cura mero.* The *profundum merum* may mean 'deep in his cup'; cf. Theocr. *Id.* 14.29 ἤδη δ' ὦν πόσιος τοὶ τέσσαρες ἐν βάθει ἦμες, *Anth. Pal.* 7.454 where a certain Erasixenus is called τὸν βαθὺν οἰνοπότην. This is an interesting case; it is as if VF in his unassuming way was the *inventor* of *profundum merum* in Latin, kindling Statius into a burst of emulation.

594 The line has the unusual *ssdd* metre; in this case it seems to depict the staggering of a drunken person, suddenly giving a start with his beard.

Odrussa (sc. est) an oriental name, derived from the Thracian tribe of the Ὀδρύσαι, or the river Ὀδρύσης. The latter was a stream in Mysia; Hecataeus tells us in Strabo 12.3.22 = C550 about ποταμὸς δ' Ὀδρύσης ῥέων διὰ Μυγδονίης πεδίου, not far from Cyzicus. Once the Thracian influence extended that far in Anatolia (W. Ruge, RE 17.1903f.). The Odrysae are described as a tribe in Thracia in

Plin. *Nat.* 4.40 *Odrysarum gens fundit Hebrum.* As in Vergil (Fordyce *ad Aen.* 7.532), many names in VF are derived from rivers: Halys (3.157), Iaxartes (5.596), Choaspes (5.584 *post* 604).

viden for *vide (lata)* in **V** and **L**. It would be an exceptional case of *vide* with short *-e*; Pers. 1.108 is another one. (Harvey *ad loc.* compares *cave* with short *-e* in Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.38, *Ep.* 1.13.19, Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.25); for a number of examples from comedy (*habe, jube, mane, mone, tace. tene, vale, vide)* see K/H 110f. Therefore the slight alteration to *viden* Pius (= *videsne*) is very attractive, since *viden* is not unusual, and used by VF in 3.499f. *viden . . . quanta/ tollat se nubes.* Other instances are Catul. 61.94, or, with *ut*, 61.77, 62.8, Sil. 12.713, *Aen.* 6.779. The present case seems to be the only example of *viden* followed by a participle, in itself a normal construction with *videre.*

alta (pectora) for *lata* Mss. The alteration to *viden* makes another conjecture necessary, and reading *alta* for *lata* Pius is one of the easiest ways out. Nevertheless the combination *alta pectora* requires comment. *altum pectus* is more often used for 'deep in his heart' (literally or metaphorically);[55] in our case it may be 'his high (= large) breast', or, rather, 'high on his breast' (partitive use).

comantem (pectora) with accusative of respect. *comans* (a participle without other verbal forms according to Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.468) is not even frequent for hair on a person (rather for shaggy beasts, helmets, stars, trees (TLL 3.1754.84ff.). See further 366 n.

comantem . . . (turbantem) VF would feel free to allow some 'rhyme' because this is not so exceptional as one might think; cf. Vergil's examples such as *Aen.* 5.219ff. *volantem./. . . luctantem . . ./ . . . vocantem/*, 5.279 *nexantem . . . plicantem*, 5.468ff. *trahentem/ iactantemque . . ./. . . eiectantem*, 12.903f. *currentem . . . euntem/ tollantemve . . . moventem.*

595 turbantem pocula cf./ 4.454f. (in the Phineus story) *diripiunt verruntque dapes foedataque turbant/ pocula*, followed by Stat. *Theb.* 8.258 (in connection with Phineus) *nec turbata feris tractavit pocula pennis.*

596 hinc for *hic* Mss. *Hic et*, 'here also', appears a little silly and below the poet's level (*et* ed. princ.; **V** and **L** have *est*). A conjecture *hunc* Baehrens was followed by Bury and Mozley; but I feel it does

[55] Cf. Man. 5.415 *alto qui iurgia pectore tollat*, Sen. *Her.F.* 654 *alto in pectore*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.431 *pectore ab alto*, Sil. 4.292 *atque altum tota metitur cuspide pectus* (TLL 1.1779.51ff.).

not recommend itself. Shackleton Bailey's proposal (209), saying 'why not *hinc ("next")?*' would improve the flow of the line considerably. For *hinc et* ('too') cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.71. (Certain other cases, however, are different, in that they involve *et*... *et*, like Verg. *G.* 3.396 *hinc et amant*... *et*... *tendunt.*) It is true that the combination *hic et* also occurs in Vergil and Statius, as well as in VF (1.362, 6.129, in a catalogue): with the same sense of *et* ('also') as here *Aen.* 6.582 *hic et Aloidas*... *vidi*, or with the *et*... *et* complication *Aen.* 3.399f. *hic et*... *posuerent*.../ *et obsedit* (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.432f. *hic et mente*.../ *ne turbavit*), or in the special sense of *hic et tum* (*Aen.* 7.92). I think that, of all possibilities, *hinc* corrects the text admirably.

Iaxartes the 'Syr Darja' river in Kazachstan, ending in the Aral lake, with, according to Arrian (*Anab.* 3.30.7) the source in the Caucasus (in actual fact the Hindu Kush); whence a people Iaxartae. The river is mentioned by Strabo 11.6.1 = C507), Plin. *Nat.* 6.49.

dictis acerbis not elsewhere in this combination (TLL 1.371.13, 5.1.996.46), yet *acerbus* is found with *litterae*, *vox*, *sententiae*, *contumelia* (Cic.), *satura* (Suet.), *oratores*, *lingua* (Liv.). See also 623 n.

hospes 'guest', that is, Jason.

597 (dictis acerbis) immodicum linguaque gravem *gravis* for 'loud'; cf. 169 *grave Titan vociferans.* For *immodicum linguaque gravem* cf. Liv. 22.12.11 *ferox rapidusque in consiliis lingua immodicus*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.53.1 *immodicus lingua.* Heinsius proposed *linguaeque gravem* (apparently for variation), but *gravis* followed by an ablative (K/S 1.385) is too well attested (especially in poetry) to warrant an alteration in the text. For *immodicus* cf. Suet. *Dom.* 12.3 *cum verbis tum rebus immodicus.*

minanti slightly more menacing than the 'speaking loudly of' in Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.9 *atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis*, *Ep.* 1.8.3f. *dic multa et pulchra minantem/ vivere (sc. me) nec recte nec suaviter.*

598 praesentis... belli cf. *Aen.* 10.622 *mora praesentis leti.* To replace *belli* proposals have been *Phoebi* (Baehrens), *mensae* (Shackleton Bailey); in view of the 'imminent war', the topic of that evening, there does not seem to be the least reason for changing the text.

reverentia a man without *reverentia superum* is strongly reminiscent of Mezentius (*contemptor divum*, *Aen.* 7.648; cf. 8.7). That type of person appeared to thrill the audience of the time; in Ov. *Met.* we find 8.612f. *deorum spretor erat*... *Ixione natus*, 8.739f. *pater*... *qui numina divum/ sperneret* (Erysichton), in the *Thebaid* Capaneus – *quis obvia numina temnat?* – (4.184).

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599. contra autem Aeetes 'non frustra magna superbo
600. dicta volant 'ait' et vocem paria arma sequuntur
601. nec requies quin Marte diem noctemque fatiget.
602. atque ubi Rhipaea stupuerunt flumina bruma
603. iam pavidi cum prole Getae, iam pervigil illum
604. Medus et oppositis exspectat Hiberia claustris.

599 contra autem cf. 171 n.

non frustra . . . (dicta) these are not vain words only.

magna superbo (dicta volant) *superbo* may be explained as the so-called sympathetic dative (Sz. 94–96), giving a subjective comment on a personal Agent: 'words fly away, words from that person whom we know a proud one'. Other examples are *Aen.* 11.380f. *verbis/ quae tuto tibi magna volant* 'you, now that you feel safe', *Aen.* 10.583f. *vaesano talia late/ dicta volant Ligeri* 'from Liger, madman as he is'. The line presents a case of conflation of *Aen.* 10.584 with 11.380 (*magna*, sc. *verba*).

600 vocem . . . sequuntur cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.213 *et vocem fata sequuntur*, Ov. *Met.* 12.82 *vocem gravis hasta secuta est.*

paria arma 'weapons matching his words'. For the wording cf. *Aen.* 11.439 *paria induat arma* (similar to Achilles), 710 *paribusque in armis* (on equal footing), 6.184 *paribusque armis* = 12.344, Stat. *Theb.* 7.292 *paria arma viris* (men with the same tools/arms).

601 nec requies quin scil. *nec superbo requies quin*; he takes no rest from wearying out day and night with war. There is a slight difficulty involved because *requies* itself, without *non* or *nec*, implies something negative, 'stopping from something'. Perhaps therefore Cic. *Caec.* 31 *at controversia non erat quin verum dicerent* is a good parallel. For *requies quin* cf. Verg. *G.* 2.516f. *nec requies quin pomis exuberet annus/ aut . . .*; compare further Lucr. 6.1177 *nec requies erat ulla mali*, Ter. *An.* 971 *nec mora ulla est quin iam uxorem ducam.*

diem noctemque fatigat cf. VF 8.175, 382 *noctes atque dies*, as well as *noctemque diemque* in Sil. 1.604, 4.811, 15.576. All this seems to be based upon *Aen.* 8.94 *olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant.*

602–604 the limits of the domains of Iaxartes are given.

602 Rhipaea . . . bruma a suitable epithet (not elsewhere, TLL 2.2208.70) in view of 558 n.

stupuerunt flumina 'rivers stand frozen' (drastic personification); cf. Sen. *Her.F.* 763 *stupent ubi undae,* Mart. 9.99.10 *pigro quae stupet unda lacu.*

603 pavidi . . . prole . . . pervigil alliteration (with words interspersed), cf. 219 n.

cum prole *proles* is considered archaic; cf. 204 n. The expression adds pathos.

Getae Thracians; see 618 n.

pervigil (Medus) for *pervigil* cf. 141 n. The Medes have to guard the passes vigilantly.

604 oppositis . . . claustris for the *Caspia claustra* see 124 n.; for *opponere* cf. Ov. *Ep.* 17.8 *oppositas fores,* 'closed doors' (Showerman). For the expression cf. (TLL 9.2.769.24ff.) Tib. 1.8.76 *quaecumque opposita est ianua dura sera,* Ov. *Am.* 3.14.10 *opposita populum summovet ante sera, Fast.* 1.266 *dempserat oppositas invidiosa seras.*

exspectat cf. *Aen.* 9.46 *armatique exspectant . . . hostem.*

Hiberia (= present-day Georgia) see *Hiber* 166 n.

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584. quid Latagum, quid si amnigenam mirere Choaspen?
585. bellatoris equi potantem cerne cruores
586. nec tamen immissis hic segnior ibit habenis.
605. hos autem quae quemque manus, quae signa sequantur
606. si memorem, prius umentem lux solverit umbram.

584/586 with regard to the transposition see note after 583 above.

584 Latagus probably under the influence of Vergilian Latagus (*Aen.* 10.697, no good derivation proposed), but with possibly an oriental flavour in view of Aelian, *Nat.An.* 16.10 πόλις δέ ἐστιν Ἰνδῶν ἡ Λατάγη. Latagus finds, together with Zetes, his end in VF 6.572 *illum exigit hasta, hic fugit . . . cum . . .,* in the manner of Vergil's *(ille Hebrum) sternit humi, cum quo Latagum Palmumque fugacem;/ sed Latagum saxo, . . .,/ . . . poplite Palmum/ succiso volvi segnem sinit.*

quid si cf. 6.454, or *Aen.* 10.628, 5.410.

amnigenam the epithet appears to mark Choaspes as the son of a river-god. *amnigena* occurs only here in extant Latin, apparently VF's invention. However, TLL 1.1942.11–13 takes it here as a form of *amnigenus,* just as in Auson. *Mos.* 116 *(perca) amnigenos inter pisces dignande marinis.* For words like *Graiugena, terrigena* cf. Bader 68. – See also 223 n.

Choaspen the Χοάσπης was the river on which Susa was situated, ending in the Tigris. The Persian kings, and the Parthian monarchs just as well, used to drink its water (Herodot. 1.188, Weissbach, RE 3.2354f.; cf. [Tib]. *Pan. Mess.* 3.7.140 *regia lympha Choaspes*, Plin. *Nat.* 31.35 *Parthorum reges ex Choaspe et Eulaeo tantum bibunt*). The name was also used for a person by Sil. 3.317 (an African ally of Hannibal).

585 bellatoris equi the *bellator equus* comes from Verg. *G.* 2.145, to appear again in *Aen.* 10.891, 11.89, Ov. *Met.* 15.368, *Fast.* 2.12; VF 2.386 has it, as well as some later authors (see Poortvliet *ad* 2.386, who lists the references from TLL 2.1807.13ff.).

equi potantem . . . cruores a *topos* when describing the Ukrainian nomads (*Massagetes, Sarmates*); cf. Verg. *G.* 3.462f. *cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deserta Getarum/ et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.34 *et laetum equino sanguine Concanum* (of Scythian descent, Porphyrio *ad loc.*), Sen. *Oed.* 470 *lactea Massagetes qui pocula sanguine miscet*, Luc. 3.282f. *solvens ieiunia belli/ Massagetes, quo fugit, equo*, Plin. *Nat.* 18.100 *Sarmatarum quoque gentes, . . ., equino lacte vel sanguine e cruris venis admixto*, Verg. *G.* 3.463 *et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.307f. *lactea Massagetae veluti cum pocula fuscant/ sanguine puniceo*, followed by later authors, Sol., Avien., Claud., Sid. (from Langen).

586 in spite of having lost blood, the charger (*hic*) will not be slower in full gallop. For the words cf. *Aen.* 5.662 *immissis . . . habenis* (figuratively), 5.146f. *immissis . . ./. . . iugis*.

605 hos autem quae quemque manus, quae signa sequantur,/ si memorem 'if I should sum up these people, and which bands followed each leader, and which banners'; cf. *Aen.* 7.642ff. *qui bello exciti reges, quae quemque secutae (acies; . . . divae, memorare potestis)*. *quae* (not in **V** or **L**) comes from Carrio's *vet.cod.*

606 si postponed by eight positions.

si memorem corresponds to VF 6.36 *verum ego nec numero memorem nec nomine cunctos*. On the topos of a poet's insufficiency see 219 n.

umentem lux solverit umbram cf. 3.1f. *tertia iam gelidas Tithonia solverat umbras/ exueratque polum*, *Aen.* 3.589 *umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram* = *Aen.* 4.7 with Pease, 4.351f. *quotiens umentibus umbris/ nox operit terras*. The image of a humid, dark night (*umbra*) is very mediterranean. Compare *nox umida* in *Aen.* 2.8, 3.198, 5.738, 835, 11.201.

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607. cras acies atque illa ducum cras regna videbis
608. dissona, saxiferae surgat quibus imber habenae,
609. quae iaculo gens apta levi, quae picta pharetris
610. venerit.

607 regna here for the soldiers; for figurative use of *regnum*, Langen refers to Sil.1.461 *crine ut flammifero terret fera regna cometes*, 2.499 *et, quantum terrent, tantum metuentia regna* (both 'kings' in Duff).

608 dissona literally 'of different language', often for 'ethnically heterogeneous'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.299f. *Arcades hi, gens una viris, sed dissona cultu/ scinditur*, Tac. *Hist.* 2.37.2 *exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos*, Prud. *contr. Symm.* 2.586f. *discordes linguis populos et dissona cultu regna volens sociare Deus*, Amm. Marc. 23.6.75 (in his description of the Persian Empire) *per has nationes dissonas et multiplices.*

saxiferae not elsewhere in extant Latin; for words ending in *-fer* see 43 n., in *-ger* cf. 137 n.)

saxiferae . . . imber habenae for a rain of missiles cf. 6.685 *quotiens imber iit, totiens saxis pulsatur et hastis*, *Aen.* 12.284 *tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber*, after Enn. *Ann.* S266 = V284 *hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber* (with Skutsch). Ennius based himself upon Hom. *Il.* 12.156 νιφάδες δ' ὡς πῖπτον ἔραζε (ὣς βέλεα ῥέον); cf. *Il.* 12.278. Compare further (TLL 7.1.423.46ff.) Stat. *Theb.* 10.542 *imber atrox* (with Williams), Sil. 13.181 *saxeus imber*, Ov. *Met.* 5.158 *tela hiberna grandine plura*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.412f. *ferrea caelo/ nubila.*

habenae here for 'slings', more precisely the strap of the sling, metaphor type '*pars pro toto*'; often found elsewhere, *e.g.*, *Aen.* 9.587ff. *ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena/ et media adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo/ diffidit*, 11.579 *et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena*, Luc. 3.710 *excussae Balearis tortor habenae*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.857 *et validas fundae Balearis habenae*, Sil. 1.314ff. *hic crebram fundit Baliari verbere glandem/ terque levi ducta circum caput altus habena/. . . abscondit . . . telum.* Not only Balearians were quick with the sling; also Bactrians, according to Prop. 4.3.65.

609 iaculo . . . levi cf. *Aen.* 12.354 *levi iaculo* = Sil. 4.510, Mart. 4.55.20 *et certos iaculo levi Silaos* (a Spanish tribe).

picta pharetris enallage, 'a *gens* with painted quivers'. According to Tarrant (see 135 n.), painted quivers form a *topos* for the Amazons; however, of his four supporting parallels, *Aen.* 5.311 and

Nonnus *Dionys.* 37.117f. only speak of Amazonian quivers, without specification. Ov. *Ep.* 21.173 certainly makes mention of a painted quiver, but in connection with Diana; Tarrant's fourth passage is the present one. Multicoloured arms of Amazons are mentioned by Vergil in connection with his description of Camilla in *Aen.* 11.648ff. (see below), source for the following lines.

*

610. ingentes animo iam prospice campos
611. atque hanc alipedi pulsantem corpora curru
612. Euryalen, quibus exsultet Mavortia turmis
613. et quantum elata valeat peltata securi
614. cara mihi et veras inter non ultima natas'.

610 iam now as if it were already tomorrow.

animo . . . prospice cf. 1.329f. *quos iam mente dies, . . ./ prospicio*, Cic. *Clu.* 34 *ut illum Magium intellegatis non longe animo prospexisse morientem . . .*, Liv. 39.51.4 *semper talem exitum vitae suae Hannibal prospexerat animo.*

hanc the deictic pronoun increases the liveliness of the scene.

611 alipedi cf. 183 n. (*alipedum*).

pulsantem corpora in the sense of 'trampling on corpses' not elsewhere, but with the chariot it is a theme commented upon by Smolenaars ad Stat. *Theb.* 760–70 and 760f., where passages from Homer, Vergil, Statius, Silius are listed and the horses' natural desire not to trample dead is dealt with. *pulsare* is used of horses (of the Sun) in Ov. *Met.* 2.155 *pedibusque repagula pulsant*, 6.486f. *equique/ pulsabant pedibus spatium declivis Olympi.* The image being VF's own, the verb seems to be derived from *Aen.* 11.659f. *cum flumina Thermodontis/ pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis.* In the *Aeneid* Camilla's band is compared with Amazons. In the present lines, the description of the Amazons borrows heavily from Vergil; the multicoloured arms have already been mentioned (*Aen.* 11.660), and *exsultet*, *cara mihi* are other examples of similar language (see below).

612 Euryale the name not elsewhere for an Amazon; it is used for one of the Gorgons in *e.g.* Hes. *Theog.* 276, and also for the mother of Orion (*e.g.* Pind. *Pyth.* 12.35). VF may have found the name in Hesiod, in view of Menippe (6.377; cf. *Theog.* 260) and Callirhoe (above, 75, cf. *Theog.* 288). On her description in terms derived from

the Camilla episode cf. above. Euryale is involved in 6.370 in rescuing the body of the Argonaut Canthus. She then kills Gesander. There some more Amazons are mentioned by name: Lyce, Thoe, Harpe, Menippe. – The maiden-warrior comes last in the catalogue, as did Camilla (*Aen.* 7.803ff.), and Atalante (Ov. *Met.* 8.317ff.).[56]

The names used in 5.582–621, the allies of Aeetes, make a predominantly eastern impression (except for Greek *Euryale*). The list of names makes use of geographical labels not previously used for names, nor easily regarded as derived from well-known names. As such the list gives a foretaste of the Scythian catalogue, 6.42–170, with its many exotic names. In this connexion Shreeves 164 remarks 'Valerius does imply a correlation between the behavior characteristic of these men and their origin', as well as 'the poet is interested not so much in reporting accurate anthropological observations, as in suggesting moral and artistic truths, according to his own perceptions'.[57]

exsultet cf. 4.607f. *ludo volitans cum turma superbo/ pulvereis exsultat equis (Amazonidum gens)*, *Aen.* 11.648f. *exsultat Amazon/...*, *pharetrata Camilla*, 11.662f. *magno ululante tumultu/ feminea exsultant... agmina*, Claud. *Rapt.* 2.62f. *qualis Amazonum peltis exsultat aduncis/ pulchra cohors.*

Mavortia cf. *Aen.* 11.661f. *se Martia curru/ Penthesilea refert*; for the Amazons as daughters of Mars cf. 126 n. *deus.*

turmis cf. Claud. *Rapt.* 2.64 *Hippolyte niveas ducit post proelia turmas*; further VF 4.608 quoted above.

613 elata... securi ablative absolute; cf. (TLL 5.2.146.25) 3.139 *elatae propius... dextrae*, 8.359 *elata... dextra*, Liv. 1.40.7 *alter elatam securim in caput deiecit*, Suet. *Calig.* 32.3 *elato alte malleo.*

peltata for the line ending cf. Ov. *Ep.* 21.117 *non ego constiteram sumpta peltata securi.* The participle is further used in (TLL 10.1.1021.18ff.) Sen. *Ag.* 217f. *securigera manu/ peltata Amazon*, Ov. *Am.* 2.14.2, Sen. *Ag.* 218, Mart. 9.101.5, Claud. 11(*Fesc.Nupt.Hon.*).33, as well as once in a non-Amazone context in Liv. 28.5.11 (used as a substantive).

614 The affectionate words about Euryale give pathos to the end of the catalogue.

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[56] Asbyte (Sil. 2.58) is more casually introduced.

[57] In a recent paper P.R. Taylor (*Cl.Q.* 44(1) 1994:212–235) points out that the Asian chieftains Carmeius, Aron, Campesus, Odrussa, Iaxartes (in the order as found in our text, with 584/586 transposed), have initial letters forming the acrostic *cacoi*, or κακοί.

cara mihi cf. *Aen.* 11.537 *cara mihi ante alias* (Diana speaking about Camilla).

veras . . . natas that is, Chalciope (6.479, 7.156) and Medea.

non ultima cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.1 *ille tuos quondam non ultimus inter amicos*, 4.1.35 *sic ego pars rerum non ultima, Sexte, tuarum*, Luc. 4.14 *Hesperios inter Sicoris non ultimus amnis.*

*

615. fatur et occiduo libat cratera parenti.
616. quisque suis tum vota deis et pocula fundit,
617. dent aciem, dent belligeros superare labores.

615 fatur et not in the *Aeneid* (often *fatur*, but not as first word of the line), nor in Catul., Lucr., Ov.; once in Luc. 2.516f. *fatur et astrictis laxari vincula palmis/ imperat*, not in Stat. or Sil., but 5 times in VF: 1.320, 3.316, 4.757, 5.615, 7.553.

occiduo . . . parenti cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.63, *occiduo . . . sole*, 14.416 *occiduus . . . Phoebus*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.283 *occiduum . . . Titana*, Sil. 1.145 *occidui . . . solis. occiduus*, a poetical word, is the equivalent of *occidens*, as words based upon a verbal root and ending in *-uus* can be (cf. the equally post-Vergilian *refluus*, used interchangeably with *refluens*). However, *occiduus* can also refer to pernicious situations, as in Ov. *Met.* 15.227 *occiduae . . . senectae*, which had some future in late Latin (TLL 9.2.354.30ff.).

libat cratera the *crater* for the wine; cf. 1.193 *ipse . . . libans carchesia patri*, *Aen.* 3.354 *libabant pocula Bacchi* ('wine'), 7.133f. *nunc pateras libate Iovi*, Sen. *Ag.* 380f. *libantque manu/ vina trementi*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.680 *libant carchesia.*

616 quisque suis . . . deis cf. (Langen) Hom. *Il.* 2.400 ἄλλος δ' ἄλλῳ ἔρεζε θεῶν.

vota deis et pocula fundit cf. (TLL 6.1.1564.9ff.) *Aen.* 4.60f. *pateram . . . Dido/ . . . fundit*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.552f. *hanc (sc. pateram) undante mero fundens vocat ordine cunctos/ caelicolas*, *Aen.* 5.77f. *mero libans carchesia Baccho/ fundit humi. fundere* is used zeugmatically with *vota* as well as *pocula.* For *vota* compare (TLL 6.1.1567.8) Luc. 9.989 *votaque turicremos non inrita fudit in ignes.*

617 dent aciem, dent . . . superare dependent upon *vota.*

belligeros *belliger* was in use in (TLL 2.1813.75.ff.) Ovid (*Ars* 2.672 *belligeras . . . manus*), Luc., Sen., followed by Stat., Germ.,

Sil., VF. For adjectives ending in *-ger* cf. 137 n. *securigeras.*

superare labores cf. *Aen.* 3.368 *quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?.*

G. *618–695. Epilogue in heaven*

The sun has set (615), just as in the first line it rose. In the meantime the days of the funerals for Idmon and Tiphys have passed, the day in which Cytorus, the night in which the Chalybes were passed, and the day of the liberation of Prometheus and the arrival in Colchis. Then the night of Medea's dream and the day of the meeting. Now during the night humans appear to have gone to sleep after revelling in the banquet, but the gods are still active. Mars quarrels with Pallas about the apparent success of Jason's mission; Jupiter asks them to wait impartially for what Fate has decreed, and predicts the success of the expedition. The gods revel and go to sleep as the Astronauts did earlier.

The quarrel of the gods, and Jupiter's position, have traits from Verg. *Aen.* 10.16ff., and *Aen.* 1.229f. Compare further Shelton 322–328, Adamietz 81–82, Lüthje 232–236.

g1. *618–648. Mars speaking*

Mars, having backed Sol in 1.528ff. in requesting that the Argo be turned back, has now become aware of the promise to give up the Golden Fleece, *his* since Phrixus left it in his grove (5.228ff.).

He directs his invectives at Pallas. Not that she plots openly (630 *palam*) is his grieve, but that she now attempts at robbing him of the fleece. He challenges her to single combat, complains that his own honour is involved; his shrine of only earth and sods means to him what rich temples are to his father. He does not seem to be interested in human beings. Compare the complaint of Ares in Hom. *Il.* 5.872ff. Ζεῦ πάτερ, . . . etc. Other similar speeches have been made by Venus in *Aen.* 1.229ff., Bacchus in Stat. *Theb.* 7.155–192, Juno in *Aen.* 12.808–828, Venus in Sil. 3.559–569. Compare further Shelton 322–324, Lüthje 232–233, Hutchinson 190–195.

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618. Ecce autem Geticis veniens Gradivus ab antris
619. ingentemque trahens Arctoa per aequora nubem
620. aspicit Aeaea Minyas stupefactus in urbe

621. ambitumque senem promissaque vellera puppi
622. Thessalicae. citus ad summi stellantia patris
623. tecta ruit questuque Iovem testatur acerbo:

618 ecce autem the scene as well as the words recall *Aen.* 7.286ff. *ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis/ saeva Juno coniunx... et classem prospexit....*

Geticis ab antris cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.35 *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis, G.* 4.462f. *Mavortia tellus/ atque Getae atque Hebrus.* The Getae were considered Thracians in Strabo 7.3.2 = C295 οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς Γέτας Θρᾷκας ὑπελάμβανον, Mela 2.18 *una gens, Thraces, habitant, aliis aliisque praediti et nominibus et moribus. quidam feri sunt et paratissimi ad mortem, Getae utique.* Plin. *Nat.* 4.41 states that *Getae* live north of the Balkans (*Haemum*). Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 3.220f. *Gradivum.... ille furentes/ Bistonas et Geticas populatus caedibus urbes/ turbidus aetherias currus urgebat ad arces, Aen.* 12.331ff. *qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri/ sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat atque furentes/ bella movens immittit equos.*

The word *antra* is remarkable because nowhere else is Mars described as himself living in a cave. Another interpretation of *antra* should therefore be considered seriously. 'Caves used as *stables*' presents itself, in view of the following parallels (TLL 2.191.76ff.): Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.101 *Isis, Phoroneis olim stabulata sub antris* (of the stable for Io, the heifer), 3.1.30 (of the stables of Diomedes, king of the Thracians for his man-eating horses), or VF himself 4.91f. *Titania frenis/ antra sonant.*[58] That the horses of Mars are kept in Thrace is mentioned in 2.204f. *accelerat Pavor et Geticis Discordia demens/ e stabulis* (Pavor is in 3.89f. one of the two horses of Mars, so that Discordia may possibly just be part of the retinue bringing the horse(s) out).[59]

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[58] Korn *ad loc.* says the concept of the *Sun* coming from a cave is unparalleled. My suggestion is that the line rather speaks of the Sun's horses.

[59] *The* god having a connection with an underground cave is Vulcan (TLL 2.191.81ff.: VF 2.335f., Grat. 459, Juv. 1.8). But also Boreas comes from a cave in Nemes. *Cyn.* 273 *cum se Threicius Boreas superextulit antro* and resides there in Sil. 8.513f. *Calais, Boreae quem rapta per auras/ Orythia vago Geticis nutrivit in antris,* based upon Soph. *Ant.* 983 ἐν ἄντροις. Compare further the Scholiast *ad* ARh 1.826, or [Pseudo-Plut.] *de Fluv.* 14.5 παρὰ τὸ Βορέου ... ἄντρον. Yet, that cave seems a stable again in Callim. *Hymn. Del.(4)*.64f. τὼ δέ οἱ ἵππω/ ἑπτάμυχον Βορέαο παρὰ σπέος ηὐλίζοντο. – A further connection in antiquity between cave and stable is in the story of the Nativity: the manger indicates cattle or horses, the cave is pinpointed by tradition.

619 ingentemque . . . nubem substantive and adjective framing the line; cf. 2 n. The *nubis* is a dust-cloud; see next note.

arctoa per aequora on *arctoa* I quote from Smolenaars 20: 'the highly poetic adject. *Arctous,* in Greek not attested before the 2nd century A.D., is not found before Seneca' (where it is frequent). VF uses it in 6.295 *arctois in armis,* 6.330 *arctois in arvis,* 3.499 *arctoo de carcere.*

Mars (Ares!) is a familiar figure riding in his chariot (Roscher 1.479.59ff., VF 6.28f., Verg. *G.* 3.90f., *Aen.* 12.331ff. (see above 618 n.), Ov. *Met.* 14.820, Stat. *Theb.* 3.220ff. (see above, 618 n.) and whirling up a dust-cloud over the *plain.* Mozley took *aequora* for 'the seas', but compare Strand 91 and *Aen.* 12.331ff. *qualis . . . / . . . Mavors . . . / . . . immittit equos, illi aequore aperto/ ante Notos . . . volant, gemit ultima pulsu/ Thracia pedum.* For *aequor* as 'plain' cf. (TLL 1.1022.84ff.) Enn. *Ann.* V137 = S124 *aequora campi*; without *campus* typical of hexameter poetry, though once in Varro.

620 aspicit cf. *prospexit* (Juno) in 618 n. *ecce autem.*

Aeaea V, L; *Aeetae* **C**. *Aeaeus* has been used for the Colchian town once outside VF: Ov. *Am.* 3.7.79 (according to TLL 1.903.18ff., but *Aeaea venifica* may equally well refer to Circe). This is a difficult case, both readings being appropriate; perhaps, in view of 547 *Aeaei tyranni, in Aeaea urbe* can be chosen.

621 ambitumque senem *ambitus,* 'brought to one's side, won over'; cf. *Aen.* 7.333f. *neu conubiis ambire Latinum/ Aeneadae possint,* VF 5.631 *insidiis quid nunc fallacibus ambit, Aen.* 4.283f. *quo nunc reginam ambire furentem/ audeat adfatu?* The participle is unusual (TLL 1.1849.47ff.); used in Tac. *Hist.* 3.39.4.

puppi *pubi* Heinsius; the same confusion as in 4.528 *pubis* Heinsius, Baehrens, Bury, Mozley, where it is also used for the crew (*pippis* **V, L**), or 6.5 *pubem* (Heinsius, Burman, Ehlers) for *puppem* Mss. I feel *puppis* for 'the ship and its crew' can remain in the text.

622 (puppi) Thessalicae cf. 530 n.

summi patris traditional for Jupiter; cf. *Aen.* 1.380 *genus ab Iove summo* = 6.123, or 7.558 *summi regnator Olympi,* 12.853f. *ab aethere summo/ Iuppiter.*

stellantia (tecta) cf. *Aen.* 7.210 *stellantis regia caeli,* based upon Homer's οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι (*Il.* 4.44), εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα (*Od.* 9.527), or even *Il.* 18.369f. Ἡφαίστου δ' ἵκανε δόμον . . . ἀστερόεντα.

623 Iovem testatur 'invokes', as a mortal says; cf. *Aen.* 12.201 *tango aras, . . . et numina testor.* On *questu . . . testatur* cf. VF 3.291 *nullo testantem foedera questu.*

questuque . . . acerbo 'bitter complaints'. For *acerbus* applied to speech cf. (TLL 1.368.56ff.) Cic. *Har.* 39 *eiulatus et gemitus Philoctetae . . . sunt acerbi, Ver.* 5.163 *acerba imploratio et vox miserabilis,* VF 2.458 *gemitu . . . acerbo* (of a bull). Differently ('shrill') in Val Max. 8.7.7. ext. 1 *acerbam auditu vocem* (of young Demosthenes).

*

624. 'quae studiis, rex magne, quies? iam mutua divi
625. exitia in solos hominum molimur honores
626. teque ea cuncta iuvant, rabidam qui Pallada caelo
627. non abigis neque femineis ius obicis ausis.

624 The indignant start of the complaint resembles the address of Venus to Jupiter in Sil. 3.559 *quis poenae modus aut pereundi terminus, oro,* as well as of the same in *Aen.* 241 (see below) or of Bacchus in Stat. *Theb.* 7.161 *quis modus?*

studiis the case allows interpretation as a dative with *finis, initium,* etc. (Sz. 95f.): *quae est, rex magne, quies studiis.* – For the word *studia* ('egoistic zeal') cf. 3.628 *studiis iamdudum freta iuventus,* Stat. *Theb.* 2.157f. *quantis conubia . . . / turba petant studiis,* Ov. *Fast.* 2.731 *studiis certamina crescunt,* Tac. *Hist.* 4.6.3, *Ann.* 12.54.7, Liv. 3.64.8.

rex magne cf. *Aen.* 1.241 *quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?* For *rex Iuppiter* cf. *Aen.* 5.533 *rex magnus Olympi.* In 644, Jupiter is addressed as *magne pater.* In *Aen.* 12.808f. even Juno uses *magne . . . Iuppiter.*

mutua . . . (exitia) cf. *Aen.* 10.755f. *iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors / funera.*

divi for *vidi* Mss., which would leave *molimur* without an object. Therefore and also in view of the next comment *divi* Gronovius should be accepted; see also next note. For a similar transposition of letters Courtney quotes 6.225 *lini* **C**, *nili* **V**, **L**, or 6.565 *genetrix* **L**, *negetrix* **V**.

625 exitia molimur 'we contrive bloodshed'; cf. (TLL 8.1358.83ff.) Cic. *Mur.* 6 *Catilinam exitium rei publicae . . . molientem,* Tac. *Ann.* 14.7.9 *exitium principis molitam matrem,* or *moliri perniciem* (Cic. *Catil.* 1.5), *pestem* (*ibid.* 2.1), *caedem senatus, interitum urbis* (*Pis.* 5). *exitia* applied to *gods* (*mutua*) would be an example of hyperbole. Yet *exitia* must

correspond to ῥίγιστα ('most horrible') in Homer (see below), that is, what the gods suffer.

I do not think that *exitia vidi* (suggesting *exitia* of men) would render Homer. In addition to the lack of support for *moliri in honores* this makes me prefer *divi*.

in solos hominum honores cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.873f. αἰεί τοι ῥίγιστα θεοὶ τετληότες εἰμὲν/ ἀλλήλων ἰότητι, χάριν δ' ἄνδρεσσι φέροντες. According to TLL 6.3.2918.69ff. this is the only case of plural instead of *in honorem*. The expression *in honorem* is in use in V. Max., Sen. (prose), Quint., Plin. min., and later (TLL *s.v.*).

626 teque ea cuncta iuvant in the corresponding place in the model *Il.* 5.875 σοὶ πάντες μαχόμεσθα, hence the amusing comment of Langen that VF misunderstood the Greek. Rather, as Lemaire saw, the line corresponds to *Il.* 5.872: Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐ νεμεσίζῃ ὁρῶν τάδε καρτερὰ ἔργα;

627 (caelo) abigis cf. (TLL 1.95.24ff.), *e.g.* 8.51f. *modo nequis abactam/ huc referat me forte dies* (Medea speaking), Prop. 3.15.30 *stabulis mater abacta suis (Antiope)*, Sil. 2.229f. *muro tectisque Sagunti/ hac abigam Poenos dextra.*

femineis a poetic expression (Axelson 56; contrasting *muliebris*).

ius obicis a singular combination, making *ius* as concrete as if it were a barrier. – In scanning *obi-* as a long syllable, VF is the only exception amongst Julian-Flavian poetry, rather conforming to the pattern of Augustan poets (OLD; cf. TLL 9.2.53.80ff.)

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628. num queror exstructa quod vexerit ipsa carina
629. vellera sacra meis sperantem avertere lucis
630. quodque palam tutata viros? sic cetera pergat,
631. si valet.

628 num queror early editors print *non* for *num* Mss. Most of the more recent editors print *num*; only Baehrens, Kramer, Courtney and Ehlers have *non*. *num* introducing a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer seems all right, and needs no replacement.

exstructa 'constructed', as in (TLL 5.2.1939.41ff.) *Aen.* 4.266f. *urbem/ extruis*, Cic. *Dom.* 101 *domum . . . exstructam et positam in oculis civitatis*, 124 *ad caelum tamen exstruit villam.* Compare for *vexerit ipsa exstructa carina* VF 4.542f. *ipsa* (Pallas) *mihi puppem Iovis optima proles/ instituit.*

vexerit for *queri quod* followed by a subjunctive see Sz. 577f. and cf. (OLD), *e.g.*, Cic. *Ver.* 1.156, Caes. *Gal.* 4.27.5, Ov. *Tr.* 3.8.39f. *querar et cum Caesaris ira/ quod non offensas vindicat ense suas.*

629 sperantem 'someone hoping to'; not referring to a person already mentioned. Such would be a standard construction in Greek, but in Latin poetry, too, is far from unusual, as in, *e.g.* Ov. *Met.* 15.29 *poenaque mors posita est patriam mutare volenti* ('for one who would want to . . .'), or *Aen.* 8.212 *quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.*

avertere cf. Catul. 64.5 *auratam optentes Colchis avertere pellem.* The verb can be construed with dative or ablative (indeterminate in the present case); for a dative cf. VF 3.491 *caroque dolis avertere fratri,* for an ablative *Aen.* 1.38 *nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem.*

lucis cf. 5.237 *rapto soporato fuerint cum vellera luco.* For the mood see 641 n.

630 palam carries the full emphasis. There is no complaint about what is **seen**; let her go ahead. However, that Pallas is scheming *insidiis fallacibus* (631 + 632), that is the indictment.

tutata sc. *sit.*

cetera pergat accusative of respect; cf. *Aen.* 9.656 *cetera parce bello, puer.*

631 valet 'if she has the power'; for absolute use of *valere* cf. Ov. *Ep.* 8.6 *cetera femineae non valuere manus,* Pl. *Am.* 390 *quando pugnis plus vales.* The full stop after *valet* could be interpreted as 'O.K. for all that; but . . .'.

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631. insidiis quid nunc fallacibus ambit
632. nostra ut Phrixeo spolientur templa metallo?
633. non opus auxilio Colchis nec foedere vestro:
634. et Persen simul et Minyas deposcimus hostes.

631 ambit 'schemes'; cf. 621, 7.256 *illam variis maerentem vocibus ambit.*

632 templa see 641 n.; Jason has promised the Fleece to Pallas in 1.87f. *tuque innuba Pallas/ eripe me! vestris egomet tum vellera templis/ illa dabo.*

Phrixeo simply possessive, as in 6.150 *Phrixei velleris,* 8.267 *Phrixea . . ./ vellera;* cf. *Phrixi vellus* 1.272, *vellera Phrixi* 1.328, 1.377, 4.556, 6.11, 6.593. Similarly: *Martia,* 640.

metallo another line ending in *metallo* is *Aen.* 6.144.

633 'The Colchians do not need your support nor an alliance with you and Jason:'

foedere vestro of Pallas (628) and Jason (629) with the Colchians. Here the original address to Jupiter (624) is forgotten; in his emotion (or, rather, following the rhetorical conventions of feigning emotion) he now addresses not the judge, but the accused: 636 *tuus*, 638 *tu.* That Jason is now in league with Aeetes is unnatural, since both Perses and Jason are his enemies; see 634.

634 deposcimus hostes (sc. nobis) 'I would wish to have as enemies Perses and the Minyans at the same time' (whereas now Perses is an enemy, but the Minyans are allies against him); Mars now identifies himself with the Colchian party, just as *foedre vestro* implies Pallas and the Minyans. Compare Iust. 12.8.3 *commisso itaque proelio exercitum suum Macedonas invadere iubet, sibi regem eorum privatum hostem deposcit (Porus)*, or Liv. 2.49.2 (TLL 5.1.591.31) *si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos.*

*

635. quin age (quid tantae coeunt in proelia gentes,
636. quid tuus Aesonides?) imus nos, protinus imus
637. in nemus auriferum et sumptis decernimus armis?
638. vel tu sola polo tacitis inopina tenebris
639. labere: quantus ibi deus experiere nec illas
640. adstiteris impune trabes.

635/636 'come on, why do we not both go (. . .), go straightaway . . .'.

coeunt in proelia gentes for *coeunt gentes* cf. (TLL 3.1416.33ff.) Luc. 3.288 *coiere nec umquam tam variae cultu gentes* (of the troops of Magnus), Sen. *Her.O.* 871 *coite gentes*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.406 *coeunt gens omnis et aetas.* For *coeunt in proelia* cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.42 *ad bella coimus*, or the peculiar Stat. *Theb.* 7.21 *Oebalii coeunt in proelia caestus.*

636 tuus with irritation, 'that *protégé* of yours'. For the possessive pronoun used to show affection as it is in *Aen.* 1.231 *meus Aeneas* see 130 n.

nos expressing more or less 'why involve humans? Rather *we (two)* gods should decide'.

637 auriferum according to TLL 2.1496.62ff., the adjective is

mainly used for rivers or countries. For words ending in *-fer* or *-ger* see 43 n.

sumptis decernimus armis for *decernere* with ablative cf. (from TLL 5.1.139.74ff.) 4.193 *forti decernere pugna*, 8.319 *aut sinit extrema Minyas decernere pugna*, *Aen.* 11.218 *ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro*. In the present case *sumptis armis* may as well be an ablative absolute. For *decernimus* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.837 *huic aequam nosces nec Pallada dextrae* (Mars to Diana).

638 vel 'alternatively, if you wish to glide down *alone*, *not* at a mutually agreed moment, . . .'

sola . . . inopina two adjectives for the same god (Pallas). *sola* probably indicates that Mars is averse from being confronted with Juno, his mother; *inopina* is unusual when applied to persons (TLL 7.1.1752.4ff.). Compare Stat. *Theb.* 11.148 *et vallum coniunx inopina subiret.*

tacitis . . . tenebris The darkness of *tenebrae* seems to indicate the night. Compare Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.104 *tacita . . . in umbra*, *Theb.* 5.79 *tacita post proelia nocte*, 7.415 *(latrare) nocte . . . tacita*, or *Aen.* 2.255 *tacitae per amica silentia Lunae.*

639 quantus deus (sc. sim), experiere with the sense of *experiri*, 'to find out' as well as 'to undergo'. A similar ellipse at Stat. *Theb.* 10.847 *experiar quid sacra iuvent, an falsus Apollo* (from Burman). – Mars is quite confident as to his prowess, just as in Stat. *Theb.* 9.875 *huic aequam nosces nec Pallada dextrae* (Mars to Diana).

(illas) trabes 'that grove <of mine>'; for *trabs* as tree cf. 162 n.

*

640. an Martia templa
641. intemeranda minus, tantum mihi lucus et agger
642. quod rudis et sola colimur si gentibus umbra?
643. est amor et rerum cunctis tutela suarum.

641 Mars speaks, (again, after 632) of his *templa*, while owning that his is 'only a grove and a heap of sods, where farmers pay him honour just in the shadows'; but *templa* can have a fairly wide sense ('precinct'), as in Lucr. 5.948f. *silvestria templa tenebant* (early man) *nympharum.* It can also be that there is a contrast between the old rural deity *Mars* of Cato's prayer (*Agr.* 141.2ff.) and the (equally old)

war-god (Roscher 2.2.2385ff.). Of old Mars had his sacred precinct *outside* the town; cf. Vitruv. 1.7.1 = 30 R *aedibus vero sacris* ... *areae distribuantur;* ... *Marti extra urbem sed ad campum.* (The author then goes on about what Etruscan haruspices say of possible reasons for it.) A temple for Mars was mentioned in Liv. 6.5.8 *eo anno* (365 BC) *aedis Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est.* – For *Mars Ultor* the Emperor Augustus had a splendid temple in Rome erected on the Forum Augusti.

Mars plays the underdog for opportunistic reasons, trying to win over the judge's feelings.

intemeranda 'inviolable', not elsewhere except for one Christian writer of the 5th century, but a logical negation of *temeranda*; for *temerare* cf. VF 1.627.

mihi lucus for the domain of a specific god, *lucus* is not a widely used word; for a *lucus* of Mars, I do not know of any reference other than Liv. 41.9.4.[60] When Courtney *ad* Juv. 1.7f. *lucus/ Martis* commented on the possibility that Juvenal is referring directly to VF as 'neither particularly likely, nor particularly unlikely', he did not make use of the rarity of the expression *lucus Martis* (TLL *s.v.*; but cf. ἄλσος Ἄρεος, ARh 2.404) that to my mind turns the scales to 'rather likely'. The more so since the name Monychus (Juv. 1.10) is also mentioned in VF (1.146). The possibility that the Theban forest of Cadmus is referred to (Cadmus enters a *silva* where a *Martius anguis* lives, Ov. *Met.* 3.28ff.) is a very remote one.

642 quod postponed to the sixth position, a record; for a fifth position see 1.627.

quod ... si coordinated; Courtney proposed *sic*, Ehlers (1970) thought this "sehr wahrscheinlich", though he printed (1980) *si*. The alteration to *sic* is of the simplest, but would create a stopgap slightly below VF's level. The change in construction *quod* ... *et si* ... seems to me more in VF's line. This *si* should be interpreted as 'in view of the fact that'.

sola ... umbra 'in nothing but the shade of trees'.

colimur gentibus Summers 44 cites only three other instances of a dative for the Agent with present tense passive: 6.269, 500, 688.

[60] Cf. Macrob. 5.19.15 for *matris luco* instead of *Martis luco* (*Aen.* 9.584), supported by Hardie 1994 *ad loc.*

643 'love and protection for their own property is a habit to all people' (*sententia*; see 536 n.)

amor et . . . tutela I feel the line strongly reminiscent of Prop. 3.14.23 *nec timor aut ulla est clausae tutela puellae*; it may be one of the rare cases of influence by Propertius.[61]

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644. ut tibi magna, pater, terris donaria certent,
645. est honor his etiam silvis. ego cara Mycenes
646. culmina, virgineas praeder si Cecropis arces,
647. iam coniunx, iam te gemitu lacrimisque tenebit
648. nata querens. metuant ergo nec talia possint.

644/645 here the textual transmission appears to be corrupt. The Mss. read *et tibi magna pater terris donaria certant/ est honor his etiam suus.* <. . . > *ego c(l)ara Mycenis* . . . Courtney proposed, but printed only in part, ***ut** tibi magna pater terris donaria **certent**/ est honor his etiam **silvis**. ego cara Mycenes*. . . . Apparently Courtney afterwards deemed *ut* (concessive) . . . *certent* too bold. Courtney's *silvis*, bringing the metrics into order, is clearly a big improvement, followed accordingly by Ehlers. The text is difficult. Why a contest of temples? Why the sudden *est honor* again, after *est amor* in 643? When the intermediate line by a conjunction is placed in a more logical framework 'even if for you, father, here on earth the temples compete for large treasures, there is also honour in these woods of mine!', the order of the lines becomes quite acceptable. Therefore I should prefer to print the other elements of Courtney's conjecture, *ut* and *certent*, as well.

644 magna, pater A conjecture (ed. princ.) for *magna* Mss. was *magne*, because it is difficult to see why the *donaria* should be big. (For *magne* cf. 624 n.). Courtney's proposal (see preceding note), however, smoothes everything, and I feel that *magna* should be retained. In *Aen.* 10.62, in the final request, Venus uses *pater*; cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.872 Ζεῦ πάτερ.

donaria 'treasure houses' on Courtney's interpretation, cf. Luc. 9.516 *templa; nec eois splendent donaria gemmis*, or generally 'temples' as Verg. *G.* 3.533 *ductos alta ad donaria currus.*

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[61] Examples, several not particularly convincing, in P.J. Enk, 1946, *S. Prop. Elegiarum liber I, pars prior*, 59f. and Colton, 1964. The present case was not noticed.

645 est honor . . . etiam cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.533 *est honor in tumulis, Met.* 10.501 *est honor et lacrimis.*

cara (culmina) only Kramer, Courtney and Ehlers print *cara* V+L; all others have printed *clara* C (cf. *Aen.* 1.284 *clarasque Mycenas*). Strand 122 defended *cara,* quoting 8.213 where Jason is *carus* from Medea's point of view; similarly, the *culmina Mycenes* are *cara* from Juno's point of view, her very own sanctuary. Compare *Aen.* 1.24 *(Saturnia bellum) pro caris gesserat Argis.* On the use of *carus* see 36 n.

Mycenes Juno's, in view of its nearness to Argos. *Mycenis* Mss. leaves the *culmina* too much roaming around. Also mentioned by Bacchus in Stat. *Theb.* 7.177 *novercales . . . Mycenas.*

646 virgineas of Pallas, that is, her city Athens.

Cecropis of Cecrops, founder-king of Attica.

648 possint Since 1523 there has existed a conjecture *poscant.* I think it is unnecessary, in view of the parallels (OLD) for 'to be able to do': Cic. *de Orat.* 3.75 *non enim quid ego, sed quid orator possit disputo, Aen.* 5.6 *furens quid femina possit,* Sen. *Ep.* 116.8 *quare non possumus ista,* Luc. 5.287f. *nil actum est bellis, si nondum comperit istas/ omnia posse manus.* 670, *nequeat,* appears to support *possint.* The text can be understood as 'let them not be able to do such things', that is, 'let them not overreach their powers in thinking that they can do things like claiming another's own property'.

g2. *649–689. Pallas and Jupiter answer*

Pallas gives an angry reply; she abuses Mars and asks her father for the Fleece. Before Mars can reply, he is cut short by Jupiter, who restores order among the gods, warning his wife and daughter. He gives a prophecy on the future of Colchis. For the prophecy cf. *Aen.* 1.257ff.; for the clash of different gods cf. *Aen.* 10.18ff., 62ff. – Lüthje 233–235, Shelton 324–328, Shey 155/156, Adamietz 81.

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649. non tulit haec animis quin longa silentia Pallas
650. rumperet inridens strepitumque minasque Gradivi.
651. 'non tibi Aloidae quibus haec fera murmura iactes,
652. non Lapithae, sed Pallas' ait 'neque ego aegide digna
653. nec vocer ulterius proles Iovis, excidat iste
654. ni tibi corde tumor:

649 non tulit haec animis Schenkl and Stroh have only referred to *Aen.* 2.407 *non tulit hanc speciem*; but *Aen.* 8.256 comes closer with *non tulit Alcides animis.*

quin Baehrens held that *quin* could not depend on *non tulit*; accordingly he printed a full stop after *animis*, and took *quin* for 'on the contrary', followed by *rumpere et.* However, the sense of 649/650 cannot be far from 'Pallas broke her long silence because her character could not put up with these words'. This would imply that *quin* should have the force of 'with the effect that', with ellipse of some negative idea typical of *quin* such as 'no indeed' (K/S 2.263 and 266f., where *non possum* is followed by *quin*). Some examples of such a sense are Caes. *Gal.* 7.11.8 *(Caesar) oppido potitur perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis quin cuncti caperentur*, Tac. *Ann.* 11.22.3 *ac ne aetas quidem distinguebatur quin prima iuventa consulatum et dictaturas inirent.*

longa silentia cf. Luc. 7.66 ('peace'), Stat. *Theb.* 1.675 ('after some time of consideration'). The word *silentia* occupies in Verg., Ov., Luc., VF, Stat. in all its occurrences the fifth foot (cf. 279). *longa* depicts the situation from the point of view of Pallas: she can stand it no longer.

650 (silentia) . . . rumperet words modelled on Juno's in *Aen.* 10.62f., starting her reply majestically with *quid me alta silentia cogis/ rumpere* (that is, the time she was silent herself). For *silentia rumpere* cf. in Augustan poets alone (from Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 1.208) Ov. *Met.* 1.208, 1.384, 11.598, Lucr. 4.583, Hor. *Epod.* 5.85.

inridens strepitumque minasque a hendiadys with a rhetorical point; 'laughing at his <vain> noise and threats' is more deadly than 'his noisy threats'. For *-que . . . -que* see nn. 388, 493. For *inridens* see 652 *sed Pallas* n.

Gradivi with short *Grad-*. For the aberrant prosody see 122 n.

651 tibi the dative seems to be a possessive dative: *tibi sunt*, possibly with the colouring of an ethic dative because of the (angry) matter-of-fact presentation of herself.

Aloidae Otus and Ephialtes, stepsons of Aloeus, fathered to his wife Iphimedea by Poseidon (Hom. *Od.* 11.305ff.), mentioned in *Il.* 5.385f. as having put Ares in chains, who was barely saved by Hermes, τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν Ὦτος κρατερός τ' Ἐφιάλτης,/ παῖδες Ἀλωῆος, δῆσαν κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ.

quibus . . . murmura iactes as in Ov. *Met.* 11.153 *Pan . . . teneris iactat sua carmina nymphis*; the subjunctive *iactes* is a 'consecutive', or 'defining' one.

652 Lapithae the Aloidae were adversaries known in literature, and stronger than Mars. This does not apply to the Lapithae; but they were Thessalians, and as such the arch-enemies of the Thracians with whom Mars is traditionally associated. In *Aen.* 7.304f. Mars is at war with them, for which there appears to be no known Greek background (Fordyce *ad loc.*); Serv. *ad loc.* claims that Pirithous had invited all the gods except for Mars. Aloidae and Lapithae are probably opponents 'more distinguished for ferocity than for skill in fighting' (Mozley). The conflict of the Lapithae with the primitive Centaurs is the subject of Ov. *Met.* 12.210ff., based upon Hom. *Il.* 2.743ff., *Od.* 21.295ff.

sed Pallas in Hom. *Il.* 21.391ff. Ares attacks Athena and sends a lance against her *aegis*. She smites him with a stone, "γέλασσε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (408)" (cf. 650 *inridens*, 'she makes fun of him'; cf. Ter. *Eu.* 424f. *coepit ad id adludere/ et me inridere*, Ov. *Met.* 8.612 *inridet credentes (deorum spretor)*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.2.6 *irridebantur et Graeci comites*).

neque . . . (nec) cf. 479 n.

aegide Nilsson 1.409 takes the aegis for a cloud, in view of *Il.* 17.593ff.; compare further καταιγίς, hurricane). According to H. von Geisau (*Kleine Pauly* 164ff.), the etymology is not clear. The popular interpretation was that of a tasselled skin of a goat (αἴξ), supported by C.J. Ruijgh, *Problèmes de philologie Mycénienne*, Minos 19 (1985) 105–167, pp. 114–116.

653 ulterius in negative sentences 'anymore, further' (OLD 2b); cf. *Aen.* 12.938 *ulterius ne tende odiis*, Ov. *Met.* 2.301f., 3.487, 9.289f., 11.630f., Luc. 10.515f. *non fatum meriti poenasque Pothini/ distulit ulterius*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.269 *'ibis' ait 'neque te ulterius fratremque ducemque . . . (patiemur inulti)'*.

proles Iovis there may be a surreptitious allusion to *Aen.* 1.250 (Venus to Iuppiter) *nos, tua progenies.*

iste see 664 n.

excidat of emotions, as *Aen.* 1.25f. *necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores/ exciderant animo.*

654 tibi 'sympathetic' dative, 'that arrogance so typical of you'.

tumor 'arrogance', as in Sen. *Ben.* 7.26.4 *adice aestimationem*

sui nimiam et tumorem, ob quae contemnendus est, insolentem, Ep. 87.35 *quae contra autem insolantiam, tumorem, adrogantiam creant, mala sunt, Phaedr.* 137 *ad recta flecti regius nolit tumor,* Luc. 10.99f. *quantosne tumores/ mente gerit famulus!* Mars's *tumor* remains the same in spite of his sister's chiding; the next book begins with *at vigil isdem ardet furiis Gradivus et acri/ corde tumet* (6.1f.).

*

654. lituos miser armaque faxo
655. oderis et primis adimam tua nomina bellis.
656. quin simili matrem demens gravitate secutus?
657. digna quidem, monstrum superis quae tale creavit.

654 lituos . . . armaque a traditional combination; cf. (TLL 7.2.1542.19ff.) 1.268f. *te parvus lituos et bella loquentem/ miretur,* Man. 4.156 *arma procul lituosque volunt tristemque senectam,* Stat. *Theb.* 3.664 *mihi . . . lituos atque arma volenti, Theb.* 5.649 *angitur ad lituos; perituris que invidet armis.* Many of these may ultimately have been based upon Verg. *G.* 3.182f. *primus equi labor est animos atque arma videre/ bellantum lituosque pati.* Finally Amm. Marc. has (26.10.10) *inter arma et lituos.* See 252 n. *arma tubaeque.*

faxo this archaic form, frequent in comedy, is used (TLL 6.1.83.25) twice each in Vergil and Ovid, once in Livy and Sen. (*Med.*), four times in VF, twice each in Statius and Sil.

655 primis . . . bellis either 'in the opening phase of the war already', as VF uses *primus* elsewhere in Book 5, 117 *prima litora,* 357 *primi aevi;* or 'in the first skirmishes of the conflict' (for *bella* in this sense cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.14, 11.491, 9.42). Both seem more likely than Langen's paraphrase of *primus* as *gravissimus.*

adimam tua nomina Schenkl and Baehrens printed *numina* Ph. Wagner; in support of which Lemaire cited *Aen.* 12.179f. *tuque, inclute Mavors,/ cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques.* (Compare Stat. *Theb.* 7.27ff. where Mars is threatenend by the drastic change into a peaceful and kind god having handed in his sword and horses!) However, Lamaire retained *nomina,* because he read in it the name *Bellipotens,* of which Pallas would rob him. This is only a guess. One losing his name would in a way also lose his 'reputation'. Some examples from OLD: Cic. *Man.* 54 *populus Romanus, cuius usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum im navalibus pugnis permanserit,* Hor. *Epod.* 17.59 . . . *ut urbem nomine impleris meo?, Ars* 400f. *sic honor et nomen divinis*

vatibus . . . / . . . venit, Caes. *Gal.* 4.16.7 *tantum esse nomen atque opnionem eius exercitus Ariovisto pulsu,* Liv. 30.17.4 *captum ingentis nominis regem.*

656 quin . . . secutus (sc. es) 'why did you not pursue'; parallels unfortunately nearly always also allow interpretation in the more literal sense of 'follow'.

simili . . . gravitate 'in the same violent vein'.

matrem Juno, mother of Mars (Ares) by Jupiter.

demens cf. *vesanus,* (673 n.). In VF *Discordia* (2.204) and *Bellona* (3.63) bear the same epithet. There may here be Stoic disapproval of emotions not under control of the *mens.* Billerbeck 3130 speaks of "das obligate Stoische Kolorit der Zeit".

657 digna the whole sneer directed not against her comrade-in-arms Juno, but against the worthless son.

quidem giving emphasis; 'certainly, indeed'.

monstrum superis quae tale creavit cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.890 ἔχθιστος δέ μοί ἐσσι θεῶν οἱ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν, or 892: μητρός τοι μένος ἐστιν ἀάσχετον, οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν. Heinsius has conjectured *dignam equidem monstrum quae tale crearit.*

Thilo, Langen, Ehlers print *crearit*; Schenkl, Baerens, Bury, Giarratano, Kramer, Mozley, Courtney keep *creavit.* Though a subjunctive would be quite acceptable, there is no strict need for it, and accordingly no need to change the Mss.' version. It is more direct, stating a fact, and suits the style of Pallas.

*

658. quod tamen adgressae scelus aut quo crimine sontes
659. si iuvenem, qui iussa sui tam dira tyranni
660. impavidus maria et nondum qui nota subibat,
661. iuvimus et magnis aliquam spem movimus ausis?

658 quod scelus for *scelus adgredi* cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.2.63 *non scelus adgredimur,* Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.29 *vestrum opus adgredimur.*

tamen a change, 'yet, after all, what crime have I done'; here Pallas begins addressing Jupiter.

adgressae . . . aut . . . sontes sc. *sumus, sumus.* After *ego vocer* and *faxo,* the change to speaking on behalf of her party (Jason, Juno) is very gradual: *adgressae* still indicates herself, *debuimus* refers to actions including Jason; then follows *cuperem,* but *nos* must include Jason, as well as *nostris sudoribus,* while line 669 seems to include Juno.

659 iuvenem . . . iussa . . . (iuvimus) fine interspersed alliteration; cf. 219 n.

iussa sui tam dira tyranni the same orders (of Pelias) are *aspera iussa* in 1.200. In the Medea story in Ovid Medea says *cur iussa patris nimium mihi dura videntur? sunt quoque dura nimis!* (*Met.* 7.14f.). The variation *dira/dura* appears to be deliberate.

660 (iussa) <et> maria . . . subibat according to Gebbing and Contino an example of *zeugma* (*maria* strict sense, *iussa* metaphor), but as long as one interprets *subire* as 'to endure, to undergo', both can be linked in a natural way. For this sense parallels are Hor. *Epod.* 1.3f. *paratus omne Caesaris periculum/ subire, Maecenas, tuo*, Tib. 1.4.47 *nec te paeniteat duros subisse labores*, Sen. *Thy.* 291 *hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.101 *crimine non ullo subeo nova fata.*

maria . . . nondum . . . nota either because it is the first venture beyond the Cyanean rocks, or simply because it involves the first ship, a concept repeatedly lost from view.

661 spem movimus not in this combination elsewhere; for *movere* of emotions, compare *Aen.* 2.96 *et verbis odia aspera movi*, Cic. *Att.* 2.14.1 = Sh.B. 34.1 *quantum tu mihi moves expectationem. magnis ausis* may stand for *in magnis ausis* (*spes* does not go with a dative).

*

662. an nullas praeferre preces nec foedera regis
663. ulla sequi, caeca sed cuncta impellere pugna
664. debuimus? sic Thraces agunt, sic turbidus iste
665. si qua petit.

662f. 'or should we not have made some entreaties first, and sought some deal with the king, but plunged our whole enterprise into battle, blind to the side it favours'. Rational Pallas at her best, distancing herself from the manners of Mars in 664/665. – In the same way Aeneas to Latinus in *Aen.* 7.236f. *ne temne, quod ultro/ praeferimus manibus vittas ac verba precantia*, where *praeferre* is used more literally. *foedera* takes up the word from 633. Unnecessarily, *perferre* has been conjectured (Burman, Baehrens, Mozley).

663 caeca . . . pugna *Aen.* 2.335 *caeco Marte*, Luc. 7.111 *caeco in Marte* (Pompey speaking), 2.14f. *sit caeca futuri/ mens hominum fati*, Sil. 2.206 *caecus fati* (Theron).

664 Thraces cf. *Aen.* 3.13f. *terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis/ (Thraces arant)*. *Ares* as a Thracian already in Hom. *Il.* 13.301 τὼ (Ἄρης, Φόβος) μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ Θρῄκης; its rationale in Liv. 42.52.11 *Thracas Gallosque, ferocissimas gentium.* Compare further Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.1f. *scyphis/ pugnare Thracum est,* Stat. *Theb.* 5.75 *tumidos Thracas* (cf. *tumor* 654), 3.220 (quoted in 618 n.), *Aen.* 12.331ff. (quoted above, 618 n.).

turbidus cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.222 (context quoted in full above, 618) *(Gradivus) turbidus currus urgebat.*

iste in the derogatory sense *iste* often has; cf. 530, 544, 653, 675. After having begun to speak to Mars, it is clear that she is now addressing Jupiter. This is likely to have started at 658, with the rhetorical question about what wrong she has done.

*

665. cuperem haec etiamnum bella remitti
666. nec socias armare manus. da vellera, rector,
667. et medio nos cerne mari. quod sin ea Mavors
668. abnegat et solus nostris sudoribus obstat,
669. ibimus indecores frustraque tot aequora vectae?

665 etiamnum generally speaking interchangeable with *etiamnunc*; but in certain hexameters specifically *etiamnum* as in Ov. *Met.* 15.815, or *etiamnunc* as in Ov. *Am.* 2.12.23 (from TLL 5.2.956.27ff.).

bella remitti cf. 276 *Marte remisso,* Liv. 4.39.5 *nusquam remisso certamine.* The sequence *cuperem . . . remitti . . . et armare* is remarkable in combining passive and active infinitives ('fairly common' (Hahn 19) in Vergil only when following *iubere*); cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.697 *facta quibus flecti facile et mitescere possis, Met.* 15.78f. *herbae . . ., sunt, quae mitescere flamma/ mollirique queant* (active voice in its model Lucr. 5.1102ff.). Compare further 695 n.

666 socias 'of relatives': cf. *Aen.* 3.352 *nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur,* VF 3.380 *socius superi quondam ignis Olympi.*

da (et . . . cerne) *da* is the usual formula in prayers, often with infinitive ('allow that we . . .'); here literally 'give us'. Also between gods, as in *Aen.* 10.61f. *iterumque revolvere casus/ da, pater, Iliacos Teucri,* Sil. 3.567 *da sedem, genitor, tutisque iacere* (both Venus to Jupiter), Stat. *Theb.* 7.182 *da sedem profugo* (Bacchus to Jupiter). – The words of Pallas here are in line with VF's rapid way of telling his story (cf. 415f. n.).

rector cf. Cic. *Fin.* 4.11 *summis rectoris ac domini numen*, Stat. *Ach.* 2.53 *aetherii . . . rectoris*, Catul. 64.204 *caelestum . . . rector*, Ov. *Met.* 1.668, Luc. 2.4 *rector Olympi.*

667 medio . . . mari cf. 34 n. *medio ponto.*

nos she identifies herself with Jason's party; cf. Venus in *Aen.* 1.250ff. *nos . . . prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.*

quod sin 'if however', a peculiar combination, probably the first and only case, as such mentioned by Sz. 670.

668 abnegat 'refuses *to give*' (OLD).

solus he, Mars, alone; contrasted with *nostris*, that is, of herself *and* Juno. In 638 Mars suggested that she should come *sola.* Earlier plurals of the finite forms of verbs may equally well have meant *I* or *we.*

sudoribus cf. *sudoribus artus* in Luc. 4.638, 754, 9.499, itself the basis for the same expression in VF 4.276 and Stat. *Theb.* 6.470. In all VF has *sudoribus* thrice, Statius four times, always in the same position in the hexameter.

669 indecores in VF 3.515 Juno speaks to Pallas of her inability to subdue Hercules's power, calling herself *indecores.* Cleverly Pallas brings up a point of honour involving Juno. Compare further 1.810 *exitia indecoresque obitus!*, *Aen.* 12.678f. (Turnus speaking) *stat conferre manum Aenaeae, . . . / . . . neque me indecorem, germana, videbis.*

tot aequora vectae cf. *Aen.* 7.228f. *diluvio ex illo tot vasta per aequora vecti/ dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus.* Interestingly in the present phrase there is no *per*, *aequora* is internal accusative; cf. VF 4.371 *ire vias.*

*

fassaque quae nequeat sit femina . . .'. coeperat ardens
hic iterum alternis Mavors insurgere dictis;
excipit hinc contra pater et sic voce coercet:
'quid, vesane fremis? cum vos iam paenitet acti
peccatumque satis, tunc ad mea iura venitis.

670 One of the most difficult phrases known to Leo or Schenkl. The Mss. **V** and **L** have *fas aliquae nequeat sic femina*; Carrio found in the *vet.cod. fassaque quae nequeam*, and continued *sic femina coeperat ardens.*

Most conjectures went far beyond the transmitted text, such as Madvig's influential *mas aliquae nequeat, si femina.* Leo broke a lance

for a return to the text of **V**, by the small alteration of *sic* to *sit*, and giving the words to Mars instead of Pallas. He accepted *aliquae* as an abnormal plural form ('giving a vulgar colour'), following the lead of Madvig and Koestlin: 'it is as it should be when there is something a woman cannot perform . . .'. Apparently this goes too far in the eyes of Ehlers, who follows Pius in changing to *aliquid.*

Indeed the only instance of *aliquae* as a neuter plural quoted in TLL 1.1608.46 is Plin. *Nat.* 17.219 *itaque laborant et fame et cruditate, . . ., aliquae vero et obesitate, ut omnia quae resinam ferunt*, an unfortunate example since it concerns *trees.* In the particular phrase *aliquae* may refer to *arbores*, *omnia quae* to an unspecified neuter collective. A subjunctive after *fas est* is not frequent; but TLL *s.v.* gives one case without *ut*, and some more with *ut* from Quint. on.

Shackleton Bailey proposed *fassaque quae nequeat sit femina*, 'and should it have been said what a woman is not able to' which I accept for lack of a better fitting alternative as well as because of its leaning upon **C**. The phrase would belong to the speech of Pallas, and be followed by a full stop. Now Mavors starts to react, but is cut short by the Father.

671 alternis in the context of alternating speech, as in (TLL 1.1755.50ff.) Ov. *Met.* 3.385 *et alternae deceptus imagine vocis* (Narcissus), Stat. *Theb.* 12.461 *nusquam illa alternis modo quae reverentia verbis*, *Ach.* 1.711, Sil. 13.489f. *'finem hic' inquit 'sermonibus adde/ alternis'*, 15.283 *haec atque his paria alterno sermone serebant*, Quint. *decl.* 362 p.R 394, 19 *cum alternis verbis iactarentur minae.*

insurgere 'to become active, to rouse oneself' (OLD 5), as in Stat. *Theb.* 8.605f. *insurgunt iusto firmata pudore/ agmina.*

672 excipit . . . contra cf. 541ff. *contra . . . excipit Aesonides.*

voce coercet 'rebukes him'. Compare (TLL 3.1436.69ff.) Suet. *Aug.* 42.1 *populum severissima coercuit voce*, Tac. *Ann.* 15.62.2 *simul lacrimas eorum modo sermone modo intentior, in modum coercentis, ad formitudinem revocat.*

673 quid, vesane, fremis? cf. Luc. 4.183 *quid, vesane, gemis* (kinsman seeing kinsman near Ilerda). Possibly inspired by Pallas calling Ares μαινόμενε! φρένας ἠλέ! in Hom. *Il.* 15.128. The word *fremere* has been used previously of Aeetes reacting to Jason's request (520, 524); also of Amycus (4.234), Pelias (1.702, 725), Absyrtus (8.372),

and, accordingly, has unfavourable, grim, traits. As to *vesanus*, in a similar, though unspoken, reaction to Jason's request in 5.527 Jason is thought of as *vesanus*; but now the god protecting Aeetes is called *vesanus* by Jupiter. Such a counterbalancing use of the word apparently indicates that things must go as they are decreed; what are *vesana* to the traditional eye, are *fata* to the stoic mind (cf. 656 n.).

673–674 'when you finally regret what you have contrived and there is enough offence given, then you come to my tribunal'.

vos 'all those gods like you'; in spite of having started by addressing Mars, now some of the rebuke is extended to Pallas and Juno. Jupiter takes up his answer to them in 677ff.

paenitet acti cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.33 *satis sit eum . . . iniuriae suae paenitere.*

674 ad . . . iura venitis 'you come to the tribunal', as in (regularly, in the singular, TLL 7.2.696.43ff.) Pl. *Poen.* 185, Cic. *Ver.* 4.148, Prop. 1.9.3; poetic plural (TLL 7.2.696.69ff.) also in *Laus Pis.* 41, Juv. 15.135.

*

675. quolibet ista modo quacumque impellite pugna,
676. quae coepistis, habent quoniam sua fata furores.
677. te tamen hoc, coniunx, et te, mea nata, monebo!

675 construe *quolibet modo ista (quae coepistis) impellite et quacumque pugna* (*quomodo* is in tmesis extended to *quolibet modo*), 'urge on the pernicious plans that you have set on foot, howsoever you like and with whatever warfare, <for . . .>'. For *impellere* of a horse cf. Sil. 7.696f. *ferrata calce atque effusa largus habena/ cunctantem impellebat equum.*

impellere pugna see 663 n.

676 habent . . . sua fata furores 'for madness meets an appropriate destiny'. Compare for this sense of *suus* Ov. *Met.* 10.506 *neque habent sua verba dolores* ('the appropriate words') and Rut. Namat. 1.429 *suos habet arbor amores.* Manitius 253 referred to Terentianus Maurus *de Syll.* 1286 (Keil *Gramm. lat.* 6) *pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.* In view of the fact that the grammarian practically nowhere else shows influence of VF (but note *separ*, cf. 58 n.) the resemblance may be fortuitous. Compare further Ov. *Met.* 4.373 *vota suos habuere deos,*

9.500 *sunt superis sua iura!*, or (from OLD) *Ep.* 12.133 *iusto desunt sua verba dolori*, Cic. Ver. 5.133 *quod certe non fecisset, si suum numerum naves haberent.* – Weyman (XIX, p. 101) cited in addition Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.11 *sunt fata deum, sunt fata locorum*, with Vollmer's Ov. *Fast.* 4.507f. *fors sua cuique loco est.* Interestingly Mars does not seem to be very impressed by his father's aphorism concerning the *furores*, since the next book's beginning (quoted in 654 n.) *isdem . . . furiis.*

te . . . hoc . . . monebo *monere* as a verb with pronominal object as well as person addressed in the accusative is mentioned in K/S 1.303; an example is Pl. *Rud.* 28 *idcirco moneo vos ego haec.*

*

678. sit Persen pepulisse satis nec vana retentet
679. spes Minyas finemve velint imponere bello.
680. illum etenim talis rerum manet, accipite, ordo:
681. victa retro nunc castra dabit bellumque remittet
682. territus adventu ducis et virtute Pelasgi.

678 Persen pepulisse satis similarly 4.519 *iam satis huc pepulisse deas* (the Harpies), spoken by a *vox* uttering the commands of Jupiter.

vana (spes) cf. 7.539 *spes vana*, *Aen.* 1.352 *vana spe lusit amantem*; the word *spes* takes up *sperantem* (629) in the mouth of Mars, *spes* (661) in that of Pallas.

nec retentet 'let not retain, keep hold of'.

679 finemve . . . imponere bello cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.68 *finemque imponere bello*, *Aen.* 5.463 *sed finem imposuit pugnae.*

680 illum Perses.

rerum manet, accipite, ordo *ergo* **V+L**, *ordo* **C**. Carrio's reading could be influenced by the same ending in *Aen.* 7.44f. *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,/ maius opus moveo*; also *accipite* was in **L** and in Carrio's codex; **V** has *accipere.* – There is resemblance with Jupiters answer in *Aen.* 1.257ff. *manet immota tuorum fata tibi.*

accipite 'learn by lending an ear to'; cf. Jupiter opening the speech in *Aen.* 10.104 *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.*

681 bellumque remittet takes up the words of Pallas in 665 saying *cuperem haec . . . nunc bella remitti*; not Pallas but Perses will give up the war (temporarily).

*

683. mox ubi Thessalicis referent hos flamina terris,
684. tunc aderit victorque domos et sceptra tenebit
685. donec et Aeeten inopis post longa senectae
686. exilia (heu magnis quantum licet, impia, fatis)
687. nata iuvet Graiusque nepos in regna reponat.
688. hic labor amborumque haec sunt discrimina fratrum.
689. vadite et adversis, ut quis volet, inruat armis.'

683 mox ubi not a frequent combination (TLL 8.1552.30ff.): before Florus thrice in prose, twice in Hor., Prop., Lucan, respectively; twice in VF (once more in 1.300), once in Stat., twice inverted *ubi mox* in Silius; in Ovid somehow more usual (six times, *Met.* 9.633 and 14.519 in addition to TLL), as well as some more instances from Colum., Flor., and a few later authors. However, the *mox tunc* (*tunc* before a vowel) combination is stilted, since one would think *mox* redundant. Yet the same is found in Prop. 4.1.131f. *mox, ubi bulla . . . dimissast . . . / . . . et . . ., / tum tibi pauca de suo carmine dictat Apollo,* Luc. 1.208 *mox, ubi se . . . stimulavit . . . / . . . -que . . . et . . . / infremuit, tum. . . .*

flamina from the epic register, fairly frequent in the Silver Latin poets (TLL 6.1.859.43ff.).

684 domos et sceptra tenebit cf. *Aen.* 1.139 *tenet ille . . . vestras, Eure, domos.* In 687 Vergilian *in sceptra reponere* has been altered into *in regna reponere.* In the same vein *sceptra tenere* (though a more common expression; see 483 n.) is the equivalent of, *e.g. imperium tenere*; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 83.12 . . . *Caesaris . . . qui superato Pompeio rem publicam tenuit,* Gel. 17.9.20 *Asiam tunc tenebat imperio rex Darius,* or *regna tenere* (Ov. *Met.* 13.649 *regna tenentem*).

685 donec is the key to differences in interpretation. In Ehlers's text *donec* is construed with the subjunctives *iuvet* and *reponat.* Sz. 629 and K/S 2.373f. agree that *donec* with subjunctive is not classical. TLL 5.1.1996.4ff. shows that *donec* is occasionally followed by a subjunctive in the (classical) major poets (also, with imperfect subjunctive, in Vergil; cf. VF 1.842, 8.87), as well as in prose. *iuvet* is a conjecture for *iubet* Mss. since *iubet* does not make sense without further alterations. Altering the text from *iubet* to *iuvet* can hardly be avoided; consequently *reponat* is more easily interpreted as depending on *donec* than as an exhortation.

et although one could possibly coordinate (with Langen) *et* and *-que* (an unusual use, K/S 2.36), it is better to consider *et Aeeten*

to refer to '<in the same way as the Minyans helped Perses, so> *also* Aeetes was assisted by his daughter, and accordingly . . .' (K/S 2.13, *-que* = "folglich").

inopis . . . senectae the combination predominantly in poetry (TLL 7.1.1755.51ff.) after Verg. *G.* 1.186 *inopi metuens formica senectae*; cf. *Laus Pis.* 245, Ov. *Am.* 1.8.113, *Met.* 7.2, Luc. 5.535. Archaic *senecta* is used by the poets, in the wake of Vergil, only in oblique cases where forms of *senectus* are metrically intractable (cf. Bednara ALL 14 (1906) 346, Harrison 121).

686 heu a Flavian predilection; 35 instances in the *Aeneis* and 14 in the *Pharsalia*, as against 42 in VF, 48 in the *Thebais*, 60 in the *Punica*. Previously in 51, 523.

quantum licet (*libet* Pius, *luet* Meyncke) Burman supported the alteration to *quantum libet impia!*, 'however *impius* <she is>'; but for this *quantum licet impia* will do as well. Alternatively *quantum licet* can as well be connected with *magnis . . . fatis.* Meyncke's *(heu, magnis quantum luet impia fatis!)* makes the best sense of all. Unfortunately, however, this is not sufficient to overthrow *licet. impia* can with Poortvliet 1995 be interpreted as a vocative in a bracketed exclamation ('just think of how much is permitted to the mighty fates, you impious woman'). Compare Luc. 6.725f. *miratur Erictho/ has fatis licuisse moras.*

687 nata iuvet *iuvet* is printed by Maserius, and by Carrio, but the latter does not claim it to occur in his codex. **V** and **L** have *iubet.* The support of Medea for her father involves the return of her Athenian son (by Aegeus) to restore Aeetes to the throne (see next note).

Graiusque nepos Medus, son of Medea and Aegeus; cf. A. Lesky in RE 15.47f., Apollod. 1.9.28, where Medea herself restores Aeetes to the throne, or Diod. 4.56.1, Hyg. 27 where Medus does so. Cicero quotes in *Tusc.* 3.26 from an unassigned tragedy, where Aeetes is lamenting his exile. – Shelton 327f. comments that *Graius*, up to then a discreditable word for the Colchians, now turns out to give relief; an irony of history. (*Graius* in 362 is not depreciatory). There may be the feeling here of *Aen.* 6.96f. *via prima salutis/ (quod minime reris) Graia pandetur ab urbe.*

in regna reponat cf. *Aen.* 1.253 *sic nos in sceptra reponis?*

688 hic labor cf. Verg. *G.* 3.288 *hic labor, hinc laudem . . . sperate*, *Aen.* 6.129 *hoc opus, hic labor est*, Ov. *Met.* 12.146f. *hic labor, haec*

requiem . . . *pugna* . . . / *attulit*. In *Aen.* 6.27 *hic labor ille domus*, the first two words appear similar, but *hic* stands for 'here'. Compare 49 *hoc labor, hoc*.

-que the Mss. have *amborum haec*; to supply the metrical deficiency, Pius conjectured *amborum sunt haec*, Carrio *amborumque haec sunt* (apparently not derived from his codex). I prefer the latter because of the avoidance of *amborum* . . . *fratrum*.

discrimina fratrum *discrimen*, 'decisive moment, peril' with the genitive of a person unusual, but cf. 1.503 *Scythici genitor discrimine nati*, or 2.578 *miserae discrimina Troiae*; here for the contemporary reader probably with clear overtones of 'civil war', as seen in the year 69.

689 vadite et . . . inruat apparently for variation, a iussive subjunctive without negation is coordinated with an imperative.

adversis . . . armis in military sense; cf. 6.740, further 6.270, *Aen.* 10.579 *hasta*, 3.134 *adversa* . . . *flamma*.

g3. *690–695: Peace in heaven again*

In the final scene the gods end the day with their meal, and go to bed. The basis for the present ending is Hom *Il.* 1.601ff., where even the transition to the next book is followed by VF (see 695 *surgitur* n.). – Shelton 328, Lüthje 236, Adamietz 82, Schetter 308.

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690. Dixerat. instaurat mensas pacemque reducit
691. et iam sidereo noctem demittit Olympo.
692. tunc adsuetus adest Phlegraeas reddere pugnas
693. Musarum chorus et citharae pulsator Apollo
694. fertque gravem Phrygius circum cratera minister.
695. surgitur in somnos seque ad sua limina flectunt.

690ff. are based on Hom *Il.* 1.601ff.:

601. ὣς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
602. δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐίσης,
603. οὐ μὲν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,
604. Μουσάων θ', αἳ ἄειδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ.
605. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατέδυ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο,
606. οἳ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἶκονδε ἕκαστος,

(. . . towards their houses that Hephaistos had built expertly; and also Zeus went to bed with his wife).

690 dixerat. opening the line, followed by a full stop, as in *Aen.*

10.530 *dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit:* . . ., and as VF has it several times. That '*dixerat.*' is followed by another finite form of a verb is somewhat unusual, making Summers rashly remark that this was an example of a passage not finally touched up by its author. Yet compare VF 4.636 *dixerat. abscedunt terris et litora condunt,* Ov. *Met.* 5.66f. *haec omnia nondum/ dixerat: emicuit nervo penetrabile telum.*

instaurat mensas cf. *Aen.* 7.146 *certatim instaurant epulas,* 8.283f. *instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae/ dona ferunt.* Book 4 also ended with a dinner party.

pacemque reducit not just peace between the quarreling gods, but rather the cosmic peace such as reigns after Jupiter's words, cf. *Aen.* 10.102 *silet arduus aether.*

691 The phrase *et iam sidereo noctem demittit Olympo* resembles the opening of book 5 *altera lux haud laeta viris emersit Olympo,* in the contrast of *nox* and *lux,* in the compound verbs before the same final word *Olympo.* I presume the author has deliberately closed a ring composition, to emphasize the integrity of book 5. The phrase in itself resembles Stat. *Theb.* 5.177f. *tardius umenti noctem deiecit Olympo/ Iuppiter;* after all it is Jupiter who is the subject of *instaurat, reducit* (690), *demittit.*

sidereo . . . Olympo cf. *Aen.* 10.3 *sideream in sedem* (= Olympus), itself based upon Hom. *Il.* 18.369f. Ἡφαίστου δ' ἵκανε δόμον Θέτις ἀργυρπόπεζα,/ ἄφθιτον, **ἀστερόεντα,** 19.128 ἐς Οὔλυμπόν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα. Langen adduces Eur. Cycl. 353f. ὦ φαεννῶν ἀστέρων οἰκῶν ἕδρας,/ Ζεῦ ξένι', . . .

demittit cf. Verg. *G.* 1.23 *quique satis largum caelo dimittitis imbrem,* Sen. Mai. *Con.* 8.6 (367M) *demissa nox caelo est.*

692 Phlegraeas . . . pugnas probably referring to the next book of battle. Hardie's concept (1993:83) of the whole quest as a 'geographical inscription of the victory of the sky-god Jupiter over chthonic opponents, the Titans and Giants' seems over-flung in view of the scarceness of links between the Gigantomachy and Jason's voyage. The interest in the greatest epic battle at this point of the poem may point forward to book 6, filled to the brim with warfare, now at the human level. Phlegra is mentioned by Jupiter in 1.564, where he wishes for his sons in the quest for the Fleece the courage that he has himself shown against the giants; in 2.17 the Argonauts pass the site (see below), and a lengthy description of the battle follows. In 6.169, a scene in the war between the brothers Perses and Aeetes is

compared to Jupiter brandishing a thunderbolt at Phlegra. Although this does not really seem sufficient to support Hardie's claim, it is true that the theme of the superiority of the heavenly gods over primitive terrestrial monsters invites comparison with the spread of empire and civilization. The first ship has in its wake the extension of western enterprise.

For the name Phlegra there are three interpretations: that it is an older name for the peninsula Pallene, westernmost in the Chalcidice (Steph. Byz. (that is, Eudoxus) *s.v.*, Herodot. 7.123); that it is a town on Pallene (Plin. *Nat.* 4.36); that it is the plain around Pallene (Scholiast *ad* ARh 3.234). In addition the name was used for the volcanic plain near Cumae in Campania; as such it must have been familiar to Roman ears. Diod. Sic. 5.71.4ff. says one war against the giants was fought at Pallene, another in Italy in the Phlegraean plain. Yet in Greek Phlegra is already mentioned in Aesch. *Eum.* 295 and Pi. *N.* 1.67.

E. Oberhummer, RE 20.2654f., states that Pallene knows no volcanic activity; the fiery name, then, can only be derived from the thunderbolts used in the battle (see above).

693 Musarum chorus et ... Apollo the heavenly musicians according to *Il.* 1.603/604.

citharae pulsator cf. Apollo playing the φόρμιγξ in *Il.* 1.603. According to Contino 19 *pulsator* is a word further only used in Christian Latin; he lists several *nomina agentis* only found in VF, *viz. frenator* 6.162, *gestatrix* 4.605, *memoratrix* 6.142, *mugitor* 3.208, *sociatrix* 5.499.

694 Phrygius ... minister for the combination cf. Mart. 12.15.7, or Cic. *Tusc.* 1.65 *nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymedem ab dis raptum ait propter forma ut Iovi bibere* ***ministraret*** (*Il.* 20.234 (Γανυμήδης) τὸν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν). The story of 'Phrygian Ganymede' (Ov. *Met.* 10.155) has been told in VF 2.415ff. *laetus/ adstabat mensis, quin et Iovis armiger ipse/ accipit a Phrygio iam pocula blanda ministro*, when the needle work on a beautiful *chlamys* is described. The introduction of Ganymede in the present verses suggests emulation with Homer's Hephaestus (*Il.* 1.607f.), in view of the similar position in these lines, the rest of which so clearly derived from the Iliad. Expertly built houses would no longer thrill the Silver Latin reader that much, the introduction of a glamour boy all the more. Possibly the unforgettable vignette in ARh of Ganymede and Amor playing at dice (3.112ff.)

has been the inspiration for the mention of Ganymede in the present beginning of the second half of the work. Stat. *Theb.* 1.548 has *Phrygius . . . venator.* The abduction of Ganymede took place on Mount Ida and "seit Vergil ist Phrygius identisch mit Troianus" (Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 10.155); cf. *Aen.* 1.28.

gravem . . . cratera 'heavy' because of the contents, *i.e.* 'full', as in 2.511 *graves pharetrae.*

circum *fert . . . circum* looks like a case of tmesis as in 2.348 *circum pateris it Bacchus,* or 3.418 *circum tacito volitabant somnia mundo.* For *circumferre* of wine cf. Pl. *Per.* 821 *circumfer mulsum, bibere da usque plenis cantharis,* Liv. 26.13.18 *poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit circumferetur* (of poison). Nevertheless *circum* as an adverb cannot be excluded.

695 the final line of book 5 is characterized by multiple alliteration, of the letter *s-* in four words, interspersed with prepositions, while the *-l-* of *limina* as well as of *flectunt* contributes to the sonorous effect and produces in addition the harmony of a line opening with two alliterating words and ending with another two, each with a different letter.

surgitur impersonal passive (cf. Pinkster (1992) and 219 n.), to indicate the gods in general. This explains the opening of the next book with *at,* because Mars is the exception who cannot sleep: *at vigil isdem ardet furiis Gradivus,* based upon Hom. *Il.* 2.2 Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος. The combination of passive *surgitur* and reflexive *se flectunt* is remarkable (cf. 665 n.). The latter is not frequent, judging from TLL 6.1.894.12ff.

surgitur in somnos, etc. 'they stand up and turn to their houses to sleep'. For *in* expressing purpose cf. *Aen.* 11.486 (Turnus) *cingitur . . . in proelia,* Prop. 3.18.18 *stantia . . . in plausum tota theatra.*

ad sua limina cf. *Aen.* 3.371 *ad tua limina, Phoebe.*

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1. *Abbreviations*

VF	Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*
ARh	Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*
K/H	R. Kühner, F. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, Elementar-, Formen- und Wort-Lehre.* Hannover, 1912
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1982
Sz	A. Szantyr, (J.B. Hofmann), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München, 1965.
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart/München, 1894–1978
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900–
K/S	R. Kühner, C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, Satzlehre*, München, 1962, I, II
Neue/Wagener	F. Neue, C. Wagener, Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1902
ALL	Archiv f. lateinische Lexikographie u. Grammatik

2. *editions inspected*

Hectoreus (Bologna) 1498 (ed. tertia)
A. Maserius (Paris) 1519
J.B. Pius (Bologna) 1519
L. Carrio 1565; 1566
L. Alardus (Leipzig) 1630 (together with J. Weitz, Collectanea, and Chr.Bulaeus, Schediasmata);
P. Burman, 1724
N.E. Lemaire, 1824, with a commentary by J.A. Wagner and additional notes by J.J.A. Caussin de Percevalles and editorial comments by N.E. Lemaire.

G. Thilo	1863
K. Schenkl	1871
E. Baehrens	1875
P. Langen	1896
J.B. Bury	1900
C. Giarratano	1904
O. Kramer	1913
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INDEX OF PASSAGES

References are to line numbers in the commentary

Quotations have been considered relevant in cases where influence (borrowing, emulation) can be deduced, either in words of in theme, or in cases where words have possibly deliberately been changed. Only the quotations from ARh have been listed completely.

Aeschylus
P.V.
201f. 329
707–735 140–153
721 155
133 168
Prom. Devinct. frg. 176
frg.
191 179

Aetna
177 509

Apollonius Rhodius
Argonautica
1.9 208
1.34 99
1.105 44
1.164 64
1.179–189 64
1.188 64
1.238 28
1.318 191
1.569ff. 439
1.947 7
1.1083 366
1.1119 435
1.1280f. 1
1.1334 21
2.88 67
2.360 71
2.360–363 107
2.378 147
2.404 230
2.743f. 73
2.837 12
2.851–884 13–62
2.817 15
2.843f. 61
2.853 58
2.856 15
2.859 59
2.899–910 73–81
2.904ff. 75
2.906 76
2.911–929 82–100
2.918f. 89
2.930–954 101–112
2.937 103
2.946 109
2.1155f. 460–462
2.942 102
2.955–1001 113–139
2.957 115
2.990 126
2.999 138
2.1000–29 140–153
2.1231–45 140–153
2.1001 140
2.1005 141
2.1013 148
2.1015–59 151
2.1149 232
2.1151 244
2.1177 123
2.1231–41 152
2.1246–59 154–176
2.1248f. 159
2.1260 177–193
2.1261 179
2.1271f. 192
2.1275 210
3.1–5 217–224a
3.8 281
3.112ff. 694
3.170 312
3.171–193 297–328
3.178f. 546
3.200 327
3.211 400
3.213–248 399–454
3.228 466
3.229 433
3.241ff. 457

3.299/303 567–618
3.351f. 495
3.352f. 423
3.353 515
3.356ff. 477
3.378f. 506
3.388f. 481
3.389f. 492
3.391 491
3.420f. 489
2.437f. 489
3.584ff. 524
3.597 528
3.679f. 350
3.681f. 356
3.751 329
3.828 328
3.840 342
3.876 103
3.947–1145 329–362
3.957f. 369
3.1024 570
3.1089 127
3.1105 362, 542
4.1f. 349
4.124 230
4.286ff. 558
4.662–664 329
4.727 466

Calp.
Ecl.
4.12 519

Catul.
64.5 629
64.363 91
68.8 50

Cic.
Verr.
1.17 280
4.124 399–454

Ciris
349 1

Claudian
22.88f. 578
Rapt.
1.256 6
2.36ff. 345
Carm.min.
29.48 110

Diod. Sic.
5.3.4ff. 345

Enn. *Ann.*
V29=S27 513
S35=V36 232
V55=S50 131

Eurip.
Hel.
1315 345

hDem.
424 345

Herod.
2.103 417

Hes.
Theog.
276 612
288 75

Homerus
Il.
1.37 17
1.601ff. 690/95
1.603f. 693
2.400 616
4.170 225
5.4f. 369
5.385f. 651
5.720ff. 183
5.745 182
5.872 626
5.874f. 625
5.890 657
6.201 364
10.5–10 204–308
11.263 225
16.174 204
18.490ff. 442
20.62 268
21.408 650
22.26ff. 369
23.220f. 97
Od.
1.170 578
3.113 578
5.270 45
6.97 215/6
6.129 365
6.149 373
7.81–132 399–454
11.235–259 478

16.294 540
19.13 540

Horatius
Carm.
1.4.5. 343
1.15.9 287
1.19.6 187
1.33.7f. 384
2.18.7f. 512
3.6.46ff. 314
4.14.21f. 46
Saec.
2 378
Epod.
16.5 86
16.58 349

Liv.
32.34.2 489

Lucanus
Pharsalia
1.48 580
1.101 442
1.120 86
1.415 580
1.605f. 120
1.674ff. 348
2.3 43
2.4 666
2.300 91
2.509 519
2.585 350
3.70 422
3.238 590
3.576f. 134
3.718 298
4.104 412
4.183 673
4.407 442
5.213 519
6.396ff. 515
6.502 347
6.605 21
7.43 364
7.111 663
7.180f. 56
8.166 302
8.775 54
9.180 39
9.989 616

Lucr.
2.144 318
2.942 246

Man.
1.4f 217
2.863 196
5.698 140

Mela
1.10 165
1.18 165
2.16 165

Ovidius
Met.
1.269 163
1.583 209
1.668 666
2.1–18 399–454
2.5 433
2.38 125
2.153 432
2.180 347
2.225 496
2.247 512
2.321f. 378
2.340f. 31
2.371 216
2.409 376
4.325 383
4.502 115
5.341ff. 343–347
5.394 342
6.68 679
7.14f. 659
7.136 347
7.186 334
7.336 526
8.68 679
8.788 56
9.19 56, 459
9.189 139
9.503 11
10.506 676
12.82 600
13.316 132
15.11 3
15.50ff. 101ff.
15.703–718 101ff.
15.764 347
15.859 163
Am.
2.2.63 658

2.11.5f. 44
3.12.40 100

Tr.
1.5.47 196
3.9.9 221
3.5.46 294
4.10.77 225

Fast.
1.538 528
2.552 231
3.862 59
4.417ff. 343–347
5.8 409
6.471 72

Ep.
4.117 137
5.123 4
10.133 45
16.112 435
12.103f. 442
21.117 613
21.119 139

Ars
3.195 253
3.687 343

Pont.
1.9.1 5
3.3.68 294

Pac. Trag.
R413=W357 304

Pers.
2.15f. 329

Plautus
Am.
390 631

Propertius
Elegiae
1.3.19 376
2.31.9–16 399–454
3.5.36 46
3.10.13 329
3.14.23 643
3.22.10 46

Scholiast ad ARh
1.105 44
1.118 478
1.139 2
1.941 155
1.1289 154/76
2.375 141, 142
2.378 147
2.353 73
2.399 466
2.417 50
2.815 2
2.904ff. 75
2.936 103
2.946 109
2.1248–50 176
3.200 238, 266, 581
3.240 238
4.272 417

Seneca
Ag.
217f. 613
217 137

Her.O.
871 633/636

Her.F.
543 139

Med.
42 426
96 46
158 358
211 185
218 239
342 77
363 472
365ff. 206
708f. 154, 158
939 302

Oed.
124f. 3
175f. 174
430 79

Phaedr.
797 187
935 306
889 182
1183 59

Phoen.
284f. 279

Thy.
687 192

Tro.
181ff. 82

Dial.
5.24.1 571

Silius
Punica
3.662 314

7.237 542
7.385 533
9.227f. 185
10.264 33
12.665 1
13.743 162
13.748 125
14.566 108
14.658 6
15.375 314
15.652f. 132

Statius
Ach.
1.596f. 168
1.824 ff 345
2.5 135
Silv.
3.5.19 155
1.4.36f. 566
3.2.100 505
3.3.107 593
3.3.211 588
Thebais
1.213 600
1.404 448
1.431 225
2.627 448
3.222 664
4.368 550
4.387 77
4.467 33
4.469 31
4.481 58
4.615 520
5.177f. 691
5.412f. 46
5.420f. 1
5.562f. 254
6.346 89
7.61 433
7.64–74 124
7.116f 303
7.277 24
7.292 600
7.375 489
7.628–631 217–224a
7.654 79
7.669 461
7.809 521
9.434ff. 79
9.404 209
9.570ff. 329
10.100f. 434
10.853 19
11.433 536
12.205 356
12.413f. 429

Tac.
Hist.
2.37.2 608
5.25.3 37

Theocr.
Id.
2.12 238

Thucid.
1.6.1 582

Tib.
2.1.87f. 565

Valerius Flaccus
Argonautica
1.40 314
1.144 433
1.172 575
1.330f. 610
1.427 512
1.641 461
1.776 348
1.840 348
2.204f. 618
3.1f. 606
3.257 318
3.424f. 361
4.16 334
4.94 579
4.190 466
4.578 526
4.607f. 612
5.1 691
5.87 21
5.276 665
5.412 1
5.427 392
5.547 470
6.1f. 654
6.33–41 217–224a
6.36 606
6.352 542
6.375 135
6.388 555
6.394f. 537
6.515–516 217–224a
6.636 3

7.55 518
7.93 486
8.6 348
8.255 216
8.325 555
8.454 297
8.628 452

Vergilius
Ecl.
4.10 335
8.21 217
G.
1.5 224
1.5 224
1.56 590
1.138 46
1.186 685
1.509 284
2.171 56
3.148 217–224a
3.182f. 654
3.189 3
3.237ff. 521
4.121 216
4.417 588
4.479f. 428
Aen.
1.99f. 42
1.126 71
1.139 684
1.202f. 352
1.241 624
1.242f. 552
1.250ff. 667
1.253 687
1.257 87, 680
1.262 99
1.327f. 378
1.332f. 389
1.352 678
1.377 277
1.413 400
1.430 343
1.439f. 402
1.440 476
1.446–493 399–454
1.454 391
1.491 139
1.494ff. 456
1.495 96, 377
1.498f. 343
1.501 366, 346
1.503 348
1.580f. 465
1.588 365
1.597 278
1.662 528
1.717f. 376
2.1 312
2.14 36
2.31 261, 447
2.40 342
2.137 551
2.214f. 255
2.250f. 94
2.335 663
2.360 94
2.370 342
2.607 489
3.13f. 664
3.35 618
3.54 129
3.63 62
3.75 17
3.105 416
3.121 82
3.201 311
3.303 97
3.304 198
3.354 615
3.368 617
3.371 695
3.692–708 101ff.
3.705 101ff.
4.7 606
4.12 75
4.60f. 616
4.150 367
4.219 519
4.237 249
4.261f. 513
4.298 82
4.361 481
4.385 26
4.465f. 15
4.449 87
4.473 445
4.511 379
4.584 318
5.56 254
5.76 342
5.78 616
5.113 186
5.140 558
5.148f. 160
5.187 593
5.207 28

5.261	593
5.270	6, 168
5.281	184
5.311	139
5.437	157
5.613	95
5.627	475
5.627f.	196
5.730	308
5.809	284
6.14–343	399–454
6.56	278
6.58f.	196
6.66	53, 508
6.67	234
6.126	347
6.82	547
6.129	49
6.175f.	302
6.179	151
6.185	263
6.212–235	11
6.226	55
6.429	41
6.505f.	200
6.522	334
6.528	285
6.570	42
6.620	127
6.640f.	565
6.697	515
6.761	484
6.784	383
6.796	409
6.808	578
6.856	366
6.863	578
7.3f.	7
7.6	91
7.9	108
7.10	108
7.15	140
7.38	277
7.37–45a	217–224a
7.44f.	680
7.109	215/6
7.120	180
7.137f.	204–209
7.170–191	399–454
7.210	566, 622
7.212ff.	471ff.
7.215	316
7.217	483
7.228f.	669
7.236f.	235, 662
7.249	312, 519
7.254	680
7.286ff.	618
7.270	56, 459
7.314	87
7.362	126
7.392	82
7.435	392
7.528ff.	521
7.553	582
7.605f.	559
7.641	99
7.649	457
7.653	458
7.792	209
8.32	185
8.67	329
8.68–78	204–209
8.76	206
8.86ff.	210
8.94	601
8.95	185
8.96	185
8.102	157
8.107	9
8.176	215
8.180f.	215
8.237	157
8.240	162
8.256	649
8.299	160
8.301	125
8.418	140
8.446	540
8.459	579
8.498f.	43
8.534	82
8.626–731	433, 399–454
8.628	452
8.730	415
8.722	181
8.541	268
8.627	3
8.686	559
8.691	126
8.729–731	451/4
8.730	173, 452
9.81	126
9.110	466
9.188	283
9.212	26
9.258	543
9.369	547

9.525–528	217–224a	11.28	41
9.559	161	11.36	456
9.622	35	11.48	308
9.661	483	11.49	526
9.790	127	11.77	97
10.3	691	11.126	132
10.55f.	48	11.149	11
10.56	196	11.218	637
10.62f.	400, 650	11.227f.	299, 547
10.68	42	11.238	1
10.104	680	11.292	494
10.163	99, 217	11.301	268
10.163–165	217–224a	11.303f.	534
10.189f.	429	11.326	435
10.194	342	11.439	600
10.233	191	11.482	16
10.279	313	11.507	220
10.417	43	11.537	614
10.420	213	11.576f.	593
10.423	230	11.648f.	612
10.446	375	11.661f.	612
10.530	690	11.663	612
10.583f.	599	11.809ff.	67
10.755f.	624	11.850	91
10.627	526	12.354	609
10.707	67	12.391	273
11.2	275	12.824	420, 423
11.5ff.	230	12.890	582

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND THEMES

REFERENCES ARE TO LINE NUMBERS IN THE COMMENTARY

ablative absolute 65
Aea 50
alliteration 21, 217
  id. with words interspersed 1, 219
  id. sensu Ceccarelli 14, 325
  id. of terminal words 85/86
Amazons 89, 137, 609
Apollonius Rhodius required reading 7, 232, 366
Arcturus 370
Arg. Orph., influence of int., 244, 296, 357
brevitas 121, 139
bucolic punctuation 101, 126
catalogue: (teichoscopy 576) 567–618
central position, importance of the 348, int., 486
chiasm 84, 146
conflation 55, 96, 367, 599
dative, ethic 529, 578
dative, of direction 10, 262, 404, 456
dative, sympathetic 599, 624, 651
descriptive poetry:
  – doors with figures 399–454, 415–454;
  – statue of Atlas 409ff.
Diana, 13th August 348
disjunctiveness 109 footn.
dream 231ff., 329, 333ff.
elision of a long monosyllable 459
enallage 23, 85, 115, 125, 141, 148, 335, 408, 425, 506, 609
fairy tale 50
-fer & *-ger* 43, 137
final syllable lengthened 164
first words of subsequent verses 297
framing of line by verbs 51
  id. of lines by attribute and substantive 2
-ger & *-fer* 43, 137
-gena, *-genus* 223, 253, 584
gifts 511
golden partition 420–432, intr.
golden line 79
Hecate 335, 348
Hercules, 12th August 157
hendiadys 31, 227, 256, 278, 341, 396, 416, 577, 650
hic . . . hic 68, 419
historic infinitive 127, 169, 173, 267
Homer, influence of 9, 45–46, 215f., 303–308, 363–398, 369, 378–390, 442–444
Horace, influence of 287
horses immolated 123
impersonal passive 219, 404, 695
invocation of Muses 217–224a
is, avoidance of, 267
Jason, genealogy 477
leoninus, versus 34, 303
middle see Central
mistakes 298, 8 footn. 590 footn.
monosyllabic line-ending 71
Muses, invocation of 217–224a
narrative: psychology int., 23, 333, 340, 454, (519–566), 521, 570
  id., subjective words 36, 315, 324
  id., point of view 121, 258, 314, 336, 406, 645
  id., speech 13, 62, 378ff., 471, 518, 566, 624, 648, 651, 670, 673, 689
ne + imper. 592
nomina agentis 142, 499
oxymoron 70, 142, 177
perf. subj. pro pres. 507
Pleiads 46, (414)
Pliny, influence of 582
poetic plural 97 126 148 163 201
poetic boldness 32, 350, 215
position, *-tr* making 275
postposition: *ast* 548, *aut* 164, *cum* 237, *namque* 292, *quod* 642, *sed* 554, *si* 606
Propertius, influence 643
prosody
  ssss type: 10
  ssdd type: 22
  sssd type: 280
  various: 79, 53, 54, 218
purple dye 512
ring composition see Style

rivers blocked 162
Scholiae, VF & 65, 155
Silius, influence upon 6, 33, 314, 533, 542
simile, see Intr.; bull 67
id., Proserpina 434ff.
id., storm and hail 202
id., Sirius 369
id., wave 521
spondee 1st foot 53
Statius, influence upon 77, 79, 135, 209, 593, 566
Stoicism 196, 576, 656, 673
style, emotional expression 8, 15, 26, 216, 244, 347, 330, 364, 564
id., ring composition 1, 8f., 69, 214, 691.
id., recalcitrancy 11
subject change 172, 216
Terentianus Maurus, influence of 58, 676
Thule 296
tmesis 144, 265, 675
topos: cutting of trees 9
id., the poet's insufficiency 219
id., *una in urna* 59
id., river poplars 185
id., beauty, mortal enhanced 363f.
id., lonely vigil 278f.
id., ethnography 582, 585
transposition of lines 436, 584–6
-um, plural genitive 55
unfinished state of the poem 194, 225
Vergil, copying 275, 352, 383, 391
Vulcanus (Ignipotens, Mulciber) 433, 452
winds, origin of 521
winged chariot 453
zeugma 77, 316, 323, 580, 616, 660

INDEX OF LATIN WORDS

References are to line numbers in the commentary

agere 15
alipes 183
ancora 72
antrum 618
Arctophylax 370
ardere 85
Argeus 435
astrum 227
audire 132, 574
autem 128, 171, 179
barbarus 522
Callirhoe 75
carus 36
casus 113
chalybs 168, 540
claustra 77, 124, 604
Cyraeus 466
dare 148, 182, 218
denique 17
Diana 238
dies 12, 41
diffidere 592
donec + subj. 685
durare 24
egenus 24
egere 298
en 315
eous 76
exanimus/ -is 28
extremus 13, 56, 82, 140, 226, 350
faxo 654
femineus 627
figere 115
flexilis 588
flexus 185
fortuna 113
Ganymedes 694
genitor 126
Gradivus 122
grandaevus 356
gravidus 22
Haemonidae 127
Herculeus 136
heu 686
hinc atque hinc 309
hinc illinc 284
hinc . . . inde 188
honos 68
hospes 202
Hyperionides 471
ignipotens 452
imago 52, 415
imperium 14
improbus 82
in 348, 462
ingens 124
insignis 139
inter 13
intervolare 27
iste 530
labi 3
linquere 230, 441
Lyaeus 74
Minyae 28
modo 507
Mulciber 433
nomen 119, 152
non 57
novare 156, 303
nudare 135
numerosus 40
olli 126
paelex 446
patrius 134
pavere, pavor 5
pecus 189
Pelasgi 116
pelta 135
pervigil 141, 603
phoca 439
Pliades 46, 414
ponere 11
populeus 185, 429
potius 324
praeterea 238
primus 95, 117
proles 204
propago 125
protinus 555
propere 426
puppis 45, 220, 621
quamquam + subj. 373

quassare 526
que . . . que 388, 493, 575
quercus 65, 230
qui 139
quidem 290
quin 82, 98, 269, 433, 455, 524, 601, 635, 649, 656
quod sin 667
rapere 41, 216, 271
regia 67
renodatus 380
repetere 84
Rhipaeus 558
rorare 76, 176, 414
rumpere 34
saevus 154, 121
securis 123
separ 58, 676 footn.
sidus 196, 227
silentia 649
Sirius 369
soligena 223
sonare 142
struere 294
superare 52
supra 185
surgere 566
taedae 348, 443
temnere 127
terga 148
texere 435
Titanius 156
tonsae 66
trepidus 220, 358, 391, 430
tyrannus 258, 387
udus 79
umbra 53, 94, 108, 228, 642
virgineus 133